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ABSTRACT

This journal (published twice a year) is a publication of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT), a nonprofit professional organization of language teachers dedicated to the improvement of language learning and teaching in Japan. JALT's publications and events serve as vehicles for the exchange of new ideas and techniques, and a means of keeping abreast of new developments in a rapidly changing field. Each issue includes several sections and departments, feature articles, point to point articles where the major issues of the field are debated, research forum, perspectives, book reviews, and JALT journal information. Topics highlighted in this volume include the following: yokudku, politeness, "othering" in English-as-a-Foreign-Language (EFL), turn-taking, strategies, self assessment, videoing, EFL readability, error correction, use of local area networks in EFL writing classes, kanji education, product-driven writing projects, and intercultural communication. (KFT)

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JALT Journal, 1998

Volume 20, Numbers 1-2

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JALT JOURNAL

May 1998
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Japan Association for Language Teaching

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Japan Association for Language Teaching

JALT is a professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language learning and teaching in Japan, a vehicle for the exchange of new ideas and techniques, and a means of keeping abreast of new developments in a rapidly changing field. Formed in 1976, JALT has an international membership of more than 3800. There are currently 37 JALT chapters and two affiliates throughout Japan. It is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language).

JALT publishes *JALT Journal*, *The Language Teacher* (a monthly magazine of articles and announcements on professional concerns), *JALT Applied Materials* (a monograph series), and JALT International Conference proceedings.

The JALT International Conference on Language Teacher/Learning and Educational Materials Exposition attracts some 2000 participants annually. Local meetings are held by each JALT chapter, and National Special Interest Groups disseminate information on specific concerns. JALT also sponsors specials events, such as conferences on specific themes.

JALT provides awards for Research Grants and Development, announced annually at the conference.

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JALT Central Office

Junko Fujio, Office Manager
Urban Edge Building, 5th Floor
1-37-9 Taito, Taito-ku, Tokyo 110-0016 Japan

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Editor
Tamara Swenson
Osaka Jogakuin Junior College

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In this issue

In the first article, **Greta Gorsuch** explores the use of *yakudoku* in Japanese high schools. Her observations of the practices of two Japanese high school teachers of English and interviews with them shed light on this little studied aspect of EFL instruction.

Hiroko Matsuura reports on a study of Japanese and American perceptual differences of politeness in English requests. Her findings indicate that the perceptions of the politeness level vary widely

Advice to foreign teachers in Japan and research on cross-cultural learning styles in ESL/EFL literature are surveyed by **Bernard Susser** for instances of "Orientalism." He argues that this literature presents a distorted account of Japanese learners and classrooms.

Point to Point

Two sets of exchanges are included. First, **Nigel Henry** comments on "The Eiken Test: An Investigation" (Vol. 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 24-42) and the author, **Laura MacGregor** responds. Then, **Takao Imai** comments on "Japanese EFL Learners' Test-Type Related Interlanguage Variability" (Vol. 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 89-105) and the author, **Akihiro Ito**, responds.

Research Forum

Michael T. Hazel and **Joe Ayres** examine differences in turn-taking behavior by Japanese and Americans, finding that in culturally diverse groups turn-taking behavior did not differ significantly. **George Russell** and **Lester Loschky** review communication strategies and instruction, report on a study of how students conceptualize communicative options, and argue that students would benefit from strategy instruction.

Perspectives

In an exploratory study of self, teacher, and peer assessment in a Japanese university EFL class, **Dale T. Griffee** finds that peer and teacher assessment scores were similar and suggests ways the reliability of peer and self assessment can be further evaluated. Following this, **Tim Murphey** and **Tom Kenny** describe a unique configuration of video cameras and video tape recorders which help students focus on form while enhancing their language learning.

Reviews

This issue includes reviews by **Charles Adamson**, **William Bradley**, **Andrew Jones**, and **Ann Peyton** on cognitive syntax, literacy, translation, and teacher education.

From the Editors

With this issue, the *JALT Journal* celebrates its 20th anniversary. Under a succession of editorial staffs, the *JALT Journal* has provided educators and researchers with reports on a variety of aspects of language education, especially those which impact on teaching in Japan.

During the past four years, the *JALT Journal* editors have initiated a number of new projects. These include introducing a section devoted to pedagogical related research, Perspectives, edited by **Sandra Fotos**; allowing submission, and therefore publication, of Japanese-language articles, edited by **Naoko Aoki**, and a change in the cover. Surprisingly, the move to the two-color cover, long-considered, saved JALT money—a less expensive cover stock more than offset the cost of an extra color. Recently, under **Nicholas O. Jungheim's** guidance, the *JALT Journal* has begun to make its way onto the Internet. I am pleased to have had a part in these efforts.

This issue also marks an editorial change for the *JALT Journal*. **Shinji Kimura** joins the editorial staff as the Japanese-language editor, replacing **Naoko Aoki**. Her work on *JALT Journal's* behalf is deeply appreciated. In addition, from the fall 1998 issue, **Sandra Fotos** will take over as the editor and **Nicholas O. Jungheim** will move into the position of associate editor. And with this issue, I complete my four-year commitment to the *JALT Journal*. I would like to thank **Sandra Fotos** for her help during the past four years and her willingness to take on the editorial post. Thanks also go to **Thomas Hardy**, **Brad Visgatis**, **Jack Yohay**, and **Greta Gorsuch** for their assistance and attention to detail. Thanks also go to every member of the Editorial Advisory Board, and the additional readers, for their commitment to helping others in the field. Without their willingness to review submissions and assist authors, the *JALT Journal* would be unable to maintain its high standards.

I would also like to remind readers of the editors who have helped make the *JALT Journal* one of the premier journals in second-language education. Past editors were: Nancy Nakanishi Hildebrandt (volumes 1 & 2); Caroline C. Latham (3 & 4); Patrick Buckheister & Donna Birman [5 & 6(1)]; Richard Berwick & Andrew Wright [6(2) to 8(1)]; Andrew Wright [8(2)]; Richard Cauldwell & Charles Wordell [9(1) to 11(1)]; Daniel Horowitz & Charles Wordell [11(2)], and Malcolm Benson & Charles Wordell [12(1) to 16(1)]. From volume 16(2), I took over as *JALT Journal* editor. It has been an exciting and challenging time. Thank you for sharing it with me.

— Tamara Swenson, *JALT Journal* Editor, volumes 16(2) to 20(1)

Articles

Yakudoku EFL Instruction in Two Japanese High School Classrooms: An Exploratory Study

Greta J. Gorsuch
Mejiro University

Despite so much being made of oral English instruction, some researchers suggest that English language instruction in Japanese high schools is still dominated by *yakudoku*, a non-oral approach to foreign language instruction. Little detailed, descriptive research on *yakudoku* instruction in classrooms is to be found, and the beliefs of teachers who use *yakudoku* seem not to be researched at all. This exploratory study seeks to remedy this. Two high school EFL classes were observed, and the teachers interviewed. Specific classroom behaviors of the teachers were analyzed and coded, and teachers' beliefs, as revealed through interviews, matched with their behaviors. It was found that in focusing on linguistic forms, teachers demanded conformity in students' work. It was also found that the students focused the bulk of their attention on the Japanese translations of the English text, rather than the English text itself. The study, while exploratory in nature, and thus flawed, creates a basis for further research into this little studied aspect of EFL instruction in Japanese high schools.

日本の高等学校における英語教育について、オーラル・イングリッシュの是非が活発に議論される一方、「授業形態の実情はいまだ訳読中心である」と指摘する研究者は少なくない。ところが、この最も典型的で一般的な授業方法とされる訳読授業を詳細に分析した研究は少なく、さらに訳読授業を展開する教師が、英語の授業方法・学習方法についてどのような考えを持ち合わせているのかについては、これまで研究対象にされなかったようである。本研究では、まず高等学校の２クラスの授業観察と教師へのインタビューを行い、教師の授業行動を分析し、カテゴリー化を行った。そして、インタビューを通して判明した教師の「授業方法・学習方法についての考え」と「授業行動」との関係を考察した。

結果、教師は英文と和訳文の表面的な一致を重要視し、従って言語的要素への関心が高いことが判明した。また同時に、生徒は英文そのものよりも和訳文に多くの注意を向けていることが判明した。本研究は仮説の検証を目的としたものではなく、訳読授業についての探索を行った研究であるが、今後期待される訳読授業研究への橋渡しとしての役割を果たすものと考える。

JALT Journal, Vol. 20, No. 1, May, 1998

In spite of pendulum swings towards oral English instruction, some researchers suggest that English language instruction in high schools in Japan has largely been and still is dominated by *yakudoku*, a non-oral approach to foreign language instruction thought to be related to grammar/translation (Bryant, 1956; Henrichsen, 1989; Hino, 1988; Law, 1995). Hino, in speaking of high school and university English instruction, goes so far as to say "*Yakudoku* is 'the' method in the teaching of English in Japan" (1988, p. 46). Writing from a perspective of university teachers dealing with high school graduates educated in the *yakudoku* method, Bamford agrees: "Indeed, the tradition of using the 'grammar translation' method is . . . practically synonymous with English education in Japan" (1993, p. 64). A survey conducted by the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (cited in Hino, 1988, p. 46) reported that among its 1,012 Japanese university and high school teacher respondents nationwide, 70 to 80 percent used *yakudoku* in their EFL classes.

Despite its seeming prevalence in EFL education in Japan, little detailed, descriptive research on *yakudoku* English instruction in Japanese high school classrooms exists. Complaints and commentaries about its effects on second language reading, second language learning, and secondary and tertiary school curricula abound in the literature. But while these articles are relevant and cogent, they lack descriptive data taken from classrooms in which the methodology is used (Bamford, 1993; Bryant II, 1956; Henrichsen, 1989; Hildebrant & Giles, 1980; Hino, 1988; Horibe, 1995; Januzzi, 1994; Law, 1994; Law, 1995; Mitsuo, 1996; Sheen, 1993).

The purpose of this research is to define *yakudoku*, and describe how it affects the EFL instruction of two Japanese high school teachers. Central to an understanding of EFL *yakudoku* education in Japan is an account of the instructional practices of Japanese high school English teachers, and the beliefs that fuel these practices. From there, future researchers can more easily postulate how *yakudoku* fits in with second language reading and second language acquisition theory. Therefore, as a first step, the research questions are:

1. What are the instructional practices of two "academic" high school teachers in their *yakudoku* EFL classrooms?
2. How can the beliefs these teachers hold towards *yakudoku* EFL education be characterized?

Yakudoku and Grammar/Translation

Yakudoku is often compared to the grammar/translation method of foreign language instruction, as in Hino: "the Grammar-Translation Method in the West, which grew out of the teaching of classical languages such as Latin and Greek, presents a close resemblance to the *Yakudoku* Method" (1988, p. 53). Henrichsen provides a similar definition, "Another Japanese language-teaching tradition that ran counter to the reforms . . . was a Japanese-style 'grammar translation' approach called *yakudoku*" (1989, p. 104).

The grammar/translation method, as described by Howatt (1984), developed in 19th century Europe through a collision of the older study of classical literary texts in higher education with the changing realities of a rapidly growing public secondary education movement for young people. Rather than longer classical literary texts learned through self-study, the grammar/translation method focused on grammar rules through explicit instruction and by using single written sentences to exemplify grammar structures thought essential to learn. The sentences also were used to provide opportunities for students to practice using the grammar structures in pedagogical, classroom-based exercises (Howatt, 1984, p. 132). This practice was achieved in many cases through having students translate the example sentences from the second language into the first language, and vice versa, hence the "translation" part of the method's name. The descriptions of Howatt (1984) and Kelly (1969) suggest that the mastery of the grammar rules was the focus of the method.

Concerning the relationship of *yakudoku* to grammar/translation, the consensus seems to be that while there are similarities, there are important differences. In this paper, two of the major differences will be discussed, as will be three areas of similarity. Hino (1988, p. 46) specifies the three-step process of *yakudoku*: First, the reader makes a word-by-word translation of the English text; next, the translation is reordered to match Japanese syntax; and finally, the string of translated words is recoded more finely into Japanese syntax. According to Hino, "the teacher's job in class is to explain the word-by-word translation technique, to provide a model translation, and to correct the student's translation" (p. 46). Contrast this with Howatt's portrayal of a grammar/translation method class: "Each new lesson had one or two new grammar rules, a short vocabulary list, and some practice examples to translate" (1984, p. 136). This suggests the first major difference between grammar/translation and *yakudoku*: In *yakudoku* the main focus seems to be on translating the foreign language text into Japanese. While grammar instruction may take place, it seems to be secondary.

The second major difference is suggested by Law (1995, p. 215), who states that the purpose of yakudoku is to render the text into Japanese so that the content may be understood in Japanese. The commentary of one Japanese scholar, Ueda (cited in Hino, 1988), confirms Law's comments that the meaning and content of the English text is understood not in English, but in Japanese. Law comments, "English has tended to be perceived as a channel of one-way communication, that is, for the reception of Western ideas" (1995, p. 214). The second major difference between grammar/translation and *yakudoku*, then, is that in *yakudoku* written texts are studied for their content after being transformed into Japanese as part of a one-way exchange. In grammar/translation, there is a sense of two-way exchange, with students translating text from the L2 into the L1 and from the L1 into the L2.

Given these two differences, the picture forming here is that *yakudoku* instruction requires students to focus more on the Japanese translation of an English text rather than the English text itself. Law comments "the focus of attention is only initially on the codes of the foreign language; most of the productive energy of the method is directed towards the recoded Japanese version" (1995, p. 216).

Three similarities shared by *yakudoku* and grammar/translation will be discussed here. The first similarity is that both methodologies have been, and are, accompanied by examinations administered on a large scale to secondary students. In the case of British schoolchildren learning modern foreign languages in the 19th century, the universities created a system of public examinations which enabled high scorers to enter better tertiary educational institutions (Howatt, 1984). At present, Japanese high schools prepare 45% of their graduates for junior college, college, or university entrance exams, in which English is nearly always tested (Shimahara, cited in Brown & Yamashita, 1995a).

The second similarity between the methodologies is related to the tests described above. In both cases, there was, and continues to be, a powerful washback effect from the examinations onto secondary level language syllabuses and teaching methodology. Howatt states "though public examinations did not create the grammar-translation method, they fixed its priorities" (1984, p. 133). Effects of the exams on grammar/translation instructional practices of the time were an increasing emphasis on "meticulous standards of accuracy," and an unfortunate tendency to focus on exceptions to the rules of grammar (Howatt, 1984, pp. 134-136). Reform-minded educators of the time objected to this washback effect, and looked to the universities to initiate change to ameliorate the situation (Howatt, 1984, pp. 134-135).

The washback effect of Japanese university entrance exams on general high school curricula and teaching methodology is documented by Rohlen (1983, p. 108), "The criterion of efficiency in preparation, of meeting competition by gearing education to the [university] examinations, reaches deep into nearly every corner of high school education." Other scholars have focused on test washback on the high school EFL curricula and teaching methodology, such as Law (1994, 1995), and Reader (1986). Law, in particular, notes of *juken eigo* (examination English) "[it] exhibits a strong preference for lists of language items over discursive texts, for peripheral over core forms, and for linguistic knowledge over linguistic performance" (1995, p. 217). Washback from the university exams is not limited to high school students who want to enter universities—of the 55% of Japanese high school students who do not aspire to enter colleges or universities, Rohlen (1983) remarks: "one third of all Japanese students who attend vocational [high] schools must endure the same kind of instruction but without the sense of purpose or reward [of preparing for the university entrance exams]" (p. 247). As in the days of grammar/translation in Europe (Howatt, 1984), the distortions created in secondary education curricula and methodology by university entrance exams have their critics both social (Amano, 1990) and educational (Horio, 1988). Horio refers to the system as "our overheated examination system" (1988, p. 12).[1]

The third similarity between *yakudoku* and grammar/translation is a focus on the written text, at the expense of oral/aural skills. In Howatt's words, "[in grammar/translation] spoken language was, at best, irrelevant" (1984, p. 135). Bryant II echoes these sentiments: "To learn to speak and understand English by this method [*yakudoku*]was still less feasible" (1956, p. 23).

One aspect of this is that teachers overwhelmingly use Japanese, not English, as the language of classroom instruction. The result is a tendency for native English speaking teachers in Japan to be assigned oral skills classes, where English is used for instruction. Japanese English teachers are assigned reading classes, where the use of English as the language of instruction is perhaps thought unnecessary. In noting this, Law (1995, p. 222) states: "it will be difficult to convince students that all [teachers] are engaged in the same enterprise, and that communication skills are not marginal aspects of language learning." A further possible effect of this lopsided assignment of teaching subjects is that Japanese EFL teachers who use *yakudoku* help perpetuate the myth, held by many Japanese EFL students, that reading English and *yakudoku* are the same thing (Hino, 1988, p. 47).

In conclusion, *yakudoku* can be characterized as a widely used text-based (non-oral) foreign language instructional methodology with some similarities to grammar/translation, but also with important differences. *Yakudoku* really seems to be more about the process of translating sentences of English text into Japanese, and understanding the text in Japanese, than about understanding English grammar through study of example English sentences. Finally, *yakudoku* is entwined with university entrance exams.

Teacher's Practices and Beliefs

Unfortunately, there is little detailed, descriptive research on Japanese EFL high school teachers' instructional practices with *yakudoku* and beliefs about these practices. This is not limited to EFL—according to Rohlen (1983, p. 241): "Descriptions of Japanese high school instruction apparently do not exist in Japanese education." This seems odd, considering that "Their [the high schools'] administrative structures, schedules, textbooks, and curricular designs are largely generated by the same Ministry of Education formulas" (Rohlen, 1983, pp. 43-44). Japanese education is centrally controlled, and thus it is surely desirable to research classroom instruction to understand not only what is happening in classrooms, but also to generate alternatives.

Why are there not more descriptions of classroom instruction at the high school level? Rohlen (1983) notes certain tendencies of high school teachers' lecture design which may shed light on this question: "examples of . . . instructional independence are rare, not because senior teachers or administrators are breathing down the backs of teachers . . . but because most teachers design their lectures with only [university] entrance examinations in mind" (1983, p. 243). If Rohlen is correct, then it explains why high school instruction is not studied more—a consensus has been reached that places preparation for university entrance exams as the highest educational priority. What may be in place in high schools, then, is a whole set of unexamined, shared assumptions concerning what is "proper" classroom instruction. Clearly, more research is needed to confirm or disconfirm this disquieting idea.

With the advent of team teaching programs, such as the Japan Exchange and Teaching program (JET) begun in 1987 (Wada & Cominos, 1994), some research on secondary education classroom instruction has been done by those seeking to understand how JTEs (Japanese Teachers of English) and their foreign counterpart AETs (Assistant English Teachers) interact in the classroom to enhance students' learning.

One such researcher, Yukawa (1992, 1994), observed a Japanese high school English teacher's interactions with a British teacher in a reading class over a period of several months. Yukawa does not characterize this class as being a *yakudoku* class, although this is implied by the prevalence of translation activities in the class observed (63% of all routines conducted in the first month of the study). Yukawa found that at the beginning of the study, the Japanese teacher translated English text into Japanese, asked students for their translations, and explained grammar and word usage. In translating English for the students, the teacher would give "a bad example (direct translation) and then change it into a good one (better translation in natural Japanese)" (1994, p. 48). These class activities were conducted in Japanese. Later in the study, the Japanese teacher engaged in fewer translation activities and used English as the medium of instruction more frequently.

Finally, in writing generally of high school instruction, Rohlen (1983) states that "instruction almost entirely by lecture is a thoroughly entrenched pattern" (p. 245). The picture of high school English instructional practices emerging from these few sources is that of a teacher-centered, university entrance exam-oriented, text-based, translation-based *yakudoku* pedagogy, which is just beginning to be investigated.

What about Japanese high school *yakudoku* EFL teachers' beliefs? There is little previous research available to answer this elusive question, but what there is, is suggestive. One survey, described above, by the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (1983) focused on 1,012 college and university EFL teachers. Findings indicated that teachers in these environments tended to subscribe to one of three views of how to approach the learning of English as a foreign language. The first group (48.9% of respondents) felt that English is best learned through "intensive reading, translation, and appreciation of literary works." This group is best labeled the "English and American literature" group. The second group (37%) felt EFL study was best approached through English linguistics, hence the name the "English linguistics" group. The third group, labeled the "TEFL" group (20.8%) subscribed to the belief that EFL study is best approached through methodology current in the TEFL field (1983, pp. 263-264). While this survey did not focus on high school teachers, it did comment on the beliefs of university EFL teachers who run the teacher certification programs, from which 70,034 high school teacher candidates earned teaching certificates in 1989 (National Institute for Educational Research, 1989, p. 9). There is a possibility that high school teachers, coming from teacher certification programs variously imbued with the "literary view," the "linguistic view," and the

"TEFL view," also fall into one of these three categories, which will affect their beliefs about classroom instruction.

In characterizing high school EFL teachers' views of language learning, university entrance exams certainly can't be ignored. Rohlen (1983) quotes one Japanese high school EFL teacher: "I know I can't speak English, and your presence in school embarrasses me, but I study the fine points of English grammar, and this is more helpful to my students. They can use it on the exams" (p. 244). This statement suggests the centrality of this teacher's concerns about preparing students for exams. While there isn't widespread research on high school teachers' beliefs concerning their responsibility to students *vis-à-vis* entrance exams, there are many anecdotal hints. Yukawa (1994), for example, reports that "academic" high schools are reluctant to make use of AETs (Assistant English Teachers) to help students improve their oral skills because they are thought to be a "hindrance to students' preparation for [university] entrance examinations" (p. 56).

The Study

Method

Subjects: The subjects were two Japanese male EFL teachers in their mid-30s, Messrs. Suzuki and Honda (pseudonyms), employed in a public boys' high school outside Tokyo. The school is noted for its success in placing graduates in some of the top universities in Japan. Both teachers have taught in public high schools for approximately 14 years since earning their teaching certificates through English teaching licensure programs as undergraduates at their universities. In such a system, university students take extra Ministry of Education approved courses such as Educational Psychology and English Linguistics, and complete a two-week student teaching practicum at a junior or senior high school (National Institute for Educational Research, 1989). Mr. Suzuki gained his teaching certificate while getting a degree in French Literature; Mr. Honda gained his while getting a degree in English Literature. Both teachers are very proficient in English, and thus were interviewed in English. Both teachers were shown transcripts of their interviews to ensure their intended meanings had been accurately recorded.

In her initial contact with the school, the researcher, hoping to avoid having to observe the intensive, exam-specific preparation prevalent in the third year, specifically requested to be allowed to study second-year English classes. However, during this initial contact period, the head teacher of the English department expressed the concern that as this was an "academic" school, that is, geared for students' preparation for university exams, the researcher might not be able to see much of interest or "newness" in teachers' classroom practices. Therefore, it is not known to what extent the classes observed were "typical" of high schools. It would be wrong to generalize findings or conclusions drawn from this study to other high schools.

Materials and Procedures: The research entailed: classroom observation, teacher interviews, and an examination of all relevant and available documents. The second-year English classes (English II) of Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Honda were observed in Autumn, 1996. Two of Mr. Suzuki's classes, with the same students, were observed about a month apart. Due to time considerations, only one of Mr. Honda's classes was observed. In addition, the classes were tape recorded. The tape recordings were reviewed by the researcher and a Japanese interpreter, and the field notes were transformed into more accurate transcriptions of the classroom activities. Both teachers were observed in fairly small, crowded classrooms which held approximately 40 desks and chairs arranged in rows.

The teachers participated in two sets of individual interviews. The first set took place immediately after the first classroom observations, and the second set after the second observation of Mr. Suzuki's class. The teachers were told at the beginning of the first set of interviews that neither their names nor the name of their school would be published or discussed with anyone else besides the assistant to the researcher. The teachers were also given the option to withdraw from the interviews at any time. The teachers' confidentiality agreement can be seen in Appendix A.

All available relevant materials were collected, including the class textbook, one worksheet used by Mr. Suzuki in class, seven textbooks assigned for students' home reading, a course grammar syllabus, and a report on trends in university entrance exams put out by a commercial cram school.

Analyses: In this section, analyses of data arising from three aspects of the study will be discussed—the class observations, the collected materials (in particular, the textbook and home reading materials), and the teachers' interviews.

After the classroom observation, field notes and tape recordings were integrated into more complete transcripts. Perusal of the transcripts focused on two aspects of classroom activity: 1) basic descriptions, in terms of classroom instruction, of what the teachers did, or called upon students to do; and 2) the textual focus of an activity. A focus on basic descriptions of what teachers did, and what they asked students to do, is appropriate, given that this study purports to describe teachers' instructional practices in the classroom.

"Textual focus" refers to which text—the English text or the Japanese translation of the English text—the teachers and students focused on during an activity. Both Hino (1988) and Law (1994, 1995) have asserted that in *yakudoku* classrooms, much of the students' attention is focused not on the English text but on the Japanese translation of the text. An analysis of this aspect of the data may shed light on this issue. Other aspects of activities and interactions in the classroom such as the physical positioning of teachers and students, turn taking, or functional uses of teachers' questions were considered to be outside the scope of this study.

The unit of observation in this study is the "activity." Various definitions for "activity" (also "procedures," and "practices") exist in the literature. Shavelson and Stern (in Nunan, 1989) present the simplest definition, "the things the learners and teacher will be doing in the lesson" (p. 47). Larsen-Freeman (1986), and Richards and Rodgers (1986) stress the notion that classroom activities are behaviors that arise from teachers' principles and assumptions about learning, teaching, learners, teachers, and language. Breen (in Nunan, 1989) completes the picture by recognizing that activities follow "a specified working procedure" (p. 6). Given these various definitions, the definition of "activity" for this study is: An activity is an event taking place within a classroom, and is bounded by the following five elements: a classroom activity is (1) *behavioral*—the activity calls for actions done in a classroom by students and/or the teacher; (2) *teacher initiated*; (3) *procedural*—in the teacher's and students' minds, the activity has a beginning, a middle, and an end; (4) *purposeful*—the activity is done in the context of a goal; and (5) *based on the teacher's principles*.

Of particular interest is the notion that a classroom activity is *procedural*. It is this quality that gives "activity" the feeling of being a unitary event, and thus something that can be counted while looking at observational data. Because most of the activities in the *yakudoku* classes used as a starting point phrases and sentences in the English text, many of the activities appeared short and repetitive. For example, during a *translation comprehension check* activity (see below), the teacher would call on one student, ask him for his Japanese translation of a phrase or sentence in the text, and then often move directly into a related but functionally different activity (*grammar instruction* or *translation instruction*) by correcting and commenting on some aspect of the student's translation. Thus the teacher's work with the one student could be counted as one or more activities. The effect was of one or more activity types being recycled again and again, each time with a different student. Some activities which were not so directly based on a text were much longer and less repetitive, such as the listening dictation quiz, where the teacher played a tape with sentences from the text while students wrote the sentences down. The entire five or six minute period in which this was done was counted as one activity.

Definitions for the activities that were observed are given below, along with abbreviated samples from the class observation transcripts. The definitions have been categorized into two general types, activities which seemed to focus on the English text, and those which seemed to focus on the Japanese translation of the English text.

English Text Focus Activities

Content instruction: In a lecture, the teacher gave the students background information, or provided commentary on the "logic" of the author. This seemed to arise from the teacher's perception that students needed more information to understand the text.

> Example: Teacher draws diagram of brain and spinal cord on the blackboard, explaining Lou Gehrig's disease in Japanese, and saying 'brain' and 'spinal cord' in English.

English sentence location check: The teacher checked students' ability to find and say the appropriate English word or phrase from the text in response to written English comprehension questions. It also seemed to function to transmit the answer approved by the teacher to the rest of the class.

> Example: Teacher questions a student in English, "What kind of person does the word 'hero' apply to?" Student answers with an English word from the text.

Grammar instruction: In a short lecture, the teacher used specialized grammatical terms and wrote the structure on the board. This seemed to be triggered by the teacher's perception, based on a student's spoken Japanese translation, that the student had misunderstood the grammar of the English text.

> Example: Teacher says in Japanese "Let's find the indirect object in the English text. 'Us' is the object but the indirect object is in three parts: 'high example,' 'purpose,' and 'a dream'."

Tape/text listening: The teacher played a tape narrated by a native English speaker, and the students listened while reading along in the text.

Listening dictation quiz: The teacher repeatedly played a tape with the text spoken by a native English speaker while the students write the sentences down on a worksheet. The text used in the activity had been taught in a previous lesson.

Pronunciation: The choral repetition of translated words.

> Example: Teacher reads words from the textbook out loud and students repeat chorally: kekyosuru oyosuru, *apply, apply,* futsu no, *ordinary, ordinary,* enjiru jikosuru, *perform, perform, superiority, superiority, ority, ority, riority, riority, periority, periority, superiority, superiority*

Japanese to English quiz: The teacher read aloud several Japanese sentences and asked the students to write down the equivalent English sentences from a text which had been previously studied. This activity seemed to allow the teachers to monitor students' preparation for the class.

> Example: Teacher read three sentences in Japanese and students were to write the English translations as they appeared in the English text which they had translated for the lesson. One student asks, "How many English words are allowed for number 1?" The teacher says "Seven." When the quiz is over, students check their answers in their textbooks.

Japanese Translation Focus Activities

Translation comprehension check: The teacher asked a single student to provide the Japanese translation of an English sentence or phrase in the text. The teacher would often then evaluate and correct the student's translation and move into one of the other sequences, such as a *grammar instruction* activity. This activity seemed to function as a check on the comprehension of the student called on, and to transmit the translation approved by the teacher to the rest of the students in the class.

> Example: Teacher tells student to read his translation of the following: *that particularly in Europe and North America the young now refuse to admire anyone.* Student reads his Japanese translation aloud and the teacher comments, giving the "proper" Japanese translation, which the students write down.

Translation instruction: In a lecture, the teacher commented on "correct" ways to translate, giving examples. This activity often occurred after a *translation comprehension checking activity,* when, based on a student's Japanese translation, the teacher perceived the student had used inappropriate Japanese in the translation.

> Example: Line from text being discussed in class: They are the giants, the out-of-ordinary figures whose superiority fills our hearts with admiration and awe;
>
> Teacher asks student to give his Japanese translation of 'awe'; student answers ***ikei***. Teacher says "***ikei*** is the first definition in the English/Japanese dictionary but it is bookish and very formal." Teacher instructs student to translate it into easy Japanese.

The three lesson transcripts were analyzed according to the classroom activities defined above by two raters, one of whom was the researcher. The two sets of ratings resulting from each of the three transcripts were correlated to estimate inter-rater reliability.

The collected student reading materials were analyzed descriptively. A 500 word segment from each book (the initial line of the extract was randomly selected) was entered into a word processing program (Nisus Writer 4.14, Paragon Concepts, 1988) and checked on the program's Flesch readability scale for estimated reading difficulty. The teachers' interviews were analyzed for evidence of teachers' beliefs concerning their instructional practices.

Results

Results concerning the first research question, "What are the instructional practices of two "academic" high school teachers in their *yakudoku* EFL classrooms?" can be found below. From the classroom observations and teacher interviews, eight salient features of classroom instruction were noted. First, it seems clear that translation is at the heart of the teachers' classroom instruction. Table 1 indicates the results of the classroom observation analysis in terms of the frequency of various classroom activities and their textual focus (English text, or Japanese translated version of the English text).

The last two activity categories in the table, which involve translation and are focused on the Japanese translation of an English text, account for a large chunk of total activities observed. Mr. Suzuki based his instruction on translation in 19 (53%) of his sequences in this first class, and 7 (57%) in his second. Mr. Honda used translation in 24 (69%) of his sequences. Underscoring these estimates is the fact that inter-rater reliability for the first transcript was 99%; the second, 97%; and for the third, 98%, indicating a relatively high level of agreement between the raters. That translation plays such a large part confirms Yukawa's (1992, 1994) description of high school EFL classroom instruction.

Table 1: Sequence Frequencies During Classroom Observations

Class: Date: Text being studied: Section:	Suzuki's Class September 27 "No More Heroes?" lines 67-76	Suzuki's Class October 30 "Stephen Hawking" lines 40-72	Honda's Class September 27 "No More Heroes?" lines 1-27
English Text Focus Activities			
Content instruction	5	2	1
English sentence location check	2	0	0
Grammar instruction	6	4	7
Tape/text listening	3	0	0
Listening dictation quiz	0	1	0
Pronunciation	1	0	2
Japanese to English quiz	0	0	1
Japanese Translation Focus Activities			
Translation comprehension check	15	6	14
Translation instruction	4	1	10
Total Activities	36	14	35
Percent Translation Activities	53%	57%	69%
Interrater Reliability	99%	97%	98%

In interviews, both teachers reported telling students to translate entire units (approximately 700 words of text) in the textbook on a regular basis. This was to be done as homework and preparation for the next class. According to the teachers, students are told to rewrite the English text on the left hand side of their notebooks and write their Japanese translations on the right hand side. Both teachers reported checking the notebooks periodically to ensure students have completed the homework.

During classes observed, the teachers asked individual students to read their Japanese translation for a phrase or a sentence. The teachers would then evaluate the student's translation. If, judging from the translation, the teachers sensed the student had misunderstood the English text, or if the student's translation was written in ungrammatical or stilted Japanese (or "queer Japanese" as Mr. Suzuki put it), the teachers then would move into a grammar instruction sequence, a content sequence, or a translation instruction sequence that would help clear up the student's misunderstanding.

Thus the translation comprehension check sequences seemed to function in two ways—first, teachers could gauge students' comprehension of the English text via their Japanese translations, and second, teachers

Table 2: "Home Reader" Descriptions

Title	Genre	Length	Difficulty	Format
I, Robot (Asimov, 1993)	Science Fiction	85 pages of text	Flesch: 82 (U.S. Grade 8)	Entirely in English with 3 pages of inference, sentence combining, opinion activities
The Year of Sharing (Gilbert, 1994)	Science Fiction	40 pages of text	Flesch: 94 (U.S. Grade 5)	Entirely in English with 2 pages of sentence order, inference, opinion activities
The Man From Paris (Thornley, 1970)	Mystery Thriller	46 pages of text	Flesch: 100 (U.S. Grade 4)	English with one page plot synopsis in Japanese, 21 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese
The Young King and Other Stories (Wilde, 1987)	Short Stories	57 pages of text	Flesch: 97 (U.S. Grade 6)	English with one page introduction in Japanese, 24 pages of grammar and vocabulary notes in Japanese
For and Against (Alexander, 1968)	Short Essays	61 pages of text	Flesch: 56 (U.S. Grade 11)	30 English essays with 2 page Japanese introduction, 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese
The Crisis of Modern Man (Milward, 1983)	Short Essays	64 pages of text	Flesch: 68 (U.S. Grade 12)	9 English essays with 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese
Charlie Chaplin (Milward, 1980)	Biography	60 pages of text	Flesch: 73 (U.S. Grade 9)	2 pages of maps, 1 page synopsis in Japanese, 20 photographs, 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese

Note: Flesch readability scores are given above as "Flesch."

could convey the "correct" and accepted Japanese translation of the text. The translation instruction sequences appeared to the researcher more as lessons in Japanese than in English. On one hand, these sequences served to help teachers focus students' attention on grammatical differences between English and Japanese. On the other hand, the teachers focused on helping students to think about and create meaningful Japanese, rather than meaningful English.

One last feature pertaining to translation was the teachers reported that students are asked to translate seven textbooks, assigned as "home readers," in the course of an academic year. The seven "home readers" vary in genre, length, difficulty, and format.

The second feature of teachers' instruction concerns the English texts themselves. This researcher believes the texts the students were being asked to process were quite difficult for them, not only linguistically but also in terms of unfamiliar content. This can be seen in Table 1 above when looking particularly at the content instruction and grammar instruction activities. During the class observations, the teachers spent a lot of time and effort ensuring that students understood the text. This could indicate that the text was beyond the students' abilities in more ways than one, and that the teachers sensed this. An analysis of the textbook appears in Table 3.

Table 3: Analysis of English Texts Used During Classroom Observations

Text used for Suzuki's and Honda's September 27 classes:
"No more heroes?" (Kenan, 1995)
Length: Approximately 600 words
Flesch Readability Estimate: 55 (U.S. Grade Level: 15)

Text used for Suzuki's October 30 class:
"Stephen Hawking" (Ferguson, 1995)
Length: Approximately 900 words
Flesch Readability Estimate: 63 (U.S. Grade Level: 12)

It seems clear from the Flesch readability estimates that the texts are linguistically difficult, perhaps beyond what non-native readers of English can be expected to do after 4 1/2 years of formal EFL instruction. What is more, readability estimates do not account for difficulties students may have with unfamiliar content. In "No More Heroes?" the focus is on historical figures from the U.S. and Europe. In "Stephen Hawking," a rare medical condition, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, is discussed. Both present content perhaps unfamiliar even to native English readers. Extracts from both readers appear in Appendix B.

Third, the classes were found to strongly resemble intensive reading classes. The English text was considered literally word for word, with additional attention in teacher lectures paid to sentence structure and, occasionally, paragraph structure. The few listening sequences observed involved students listening to a tape while reading along in the textbook or completing a dictation task. There were also a few pronunciation sequences.

Fourth, the language of instruction for both teachers was observed to be overwhelmingly Japanese. Only during pronunciation sequences, noted above, was English spoken by the teachers. In these cases, single words were spoken, which students had to repeat. This was the extent of the treatment of English in the oral/aural mode.

Fifth, the students never actually produced any English. As noted above, any productive work was completed outside class, when students translated the English text into Japanese. One exception, a quiz given by Mr. Honda, involved orally reading out to the students three Japanese translations of English sentences taken from the textbook and then having the students write the English translations. The English sentences had to be exactly the same as those in the textbook, which students were to have memorized.

The sixth feature noted from classroom observation was that both teachers demanded conformity in what students produced. During translation comprehension check activities, no discussion of the students' translations took place—they were simply "right" or "wrong," with the teacher demonstrating and conveying the "right" translation for students to write. Students did not have a chance to consider or to argue for the meaning they had gathered from the English text, even if through their Japanese translations.

Seventh, if it is not already abundantly clear, the classes observed were strongly teacher-centered. The teachers determined the pace and focus of the lessons. Both teachers seemed to work hard to actively engage the students in trying to comprehend the English text. This was done through questions directed at individual students, and through lectures designed to have personal relevance to the students.

For instance, to explain a metaphor in the text, Mr. Suzuki noted that rain was falling outdoors. When learning that only a few students had brought their umbrellas, he said, "Now aren't you sad, just like the 'sad sky' mentioned in the text?" Mr. Honda engaged students by asking a student a question and then giving the student hints when he appeared to have trouble (which was often). The result was an intense, exciting interchange in which sometimes the students were able to give the answer Mr. Honda wanted, and sometimes not. This strong desire to engage students in this teacher-centered way was also reflected in the teachers' interviews. Both teachers reported trying to inspire students to think deeply about what the texts meant and to consider the author's point of view.

The eighth feature noted from classroom observations and interviews concerns student assessment. This is closely related to the observation that the classes are strongly teacher-centered, as the classroom assessment appears to function as a form of teacher control. Students are tested often, and conformity in their answers is required. The first type of assessment comes in the form of daily quizzes. To do well, students need to memorize portions of the English text. The teachers both reported giving students hints about which sentences to memorize in a previous class. If students do poorly on three quizzes in a row, they are expected to have a conference with the teacher, who will give them another test. Both teachers stated in the interview, however, that these quizzes do not count towards the students' grades.

A second type of assessment *does* count towards the students' grades—these are the 11 "terminal tests" that students have to take in an academic year. The teachers stated that the tests are based on the "home readers," and contain 30-40 translation and multiple choice items. According to one of the curriculum documents, students took a test in 1995 based on three chapters of the "home reader" *The Young King and Other Stories* (Wilde, 1987). Another "home reader" text chapter was listed on the same testing schedule for a later test with the Chinese characters for "memorize" next to it (*Charlie Chaplin*, Milward, 1980).

To answer the second research question, "How can the beliefs these teachers hold towards *yakudoku* EFL education be characterized?" it will be necessary to analyze the teachers' beliefs in relation to their instructional practices as observed and reported above.

Instructional Practice #1: *The teachers base their classroom instruction on the translation of English text into Japanese.* Both teachers report ambivalent feelings about the use of translation as a method of instruction. Mr. Honda felt that translation is the easiest way to learn a new language because it takes away the need for the teacher to make laborious explanations of new grammar and vocabulary. Mr. Suzuki believed that translation helps students prepare for university entrance exams. He also believed that by memorizing English sentences, and translating them, students can best learn English.

Translation serves positive pedagogical purposes, according to both teachers. Mr. Suzuki stated that with translation it is easy to tell which students understand the English text, and which do not, just by listening to their translations. He also believed that low level students can use it to understand English, and that students of any level can get satisfaction from knowing that "they've translated so many lines of English today." Mr. Honda added that learning through translation helps students learn Japanese. On this topic, Mr. Suzuki states that although Japanese students can read Japanese, they do not really understand it. Hence, students can learn their own language through translating a foreign text into Japanese.

Both teachers had negative feelings about translation as well. Mr. Suzuki feels that asking students to translate "robs them of pleasure," and that they cannot get a feel for the "exciting story" of a text if they have to translate it. Mr. Suzuki wants students to mentally process English texts in English but feels they probably do not because they have to translate. Finally, as reported above, Mr. Honda feels that translation keeps students from developing their aural/oral skills.

Concerning the "home readers" Mr. Suzuki stated that some were easier than others, and that was desirable. He maintained that with the easier ones students could develop their ability to read fluently. This is somewhat contradicted by the fact that students are still required to translate each book in its entirety. This may point to translation being mistaken for reading (Hino, 1988), or it may indicate that translation has great pedagogical value in that the teachers can ensure that students have "read" the book.

Instructional Practice #2: *Teachers use textbooks that are probably difficult for students both linguistically and in terms of unfamiliar content.* We should begin here with what the teachers thought constituted a "good textbook." Both agreed textbooks had to be attuned to students' interests, and should be vehicles for teaching specific grammar structures and vocabulary. A strong belief shared by the teachers was the idea that a textbook should have readings in it that were "logical," and that posed questions within the text to which there were definite answers that students could find. In particular they complained about one of the readings in which a rhetorical question (with no clear answer) was posed. They also strongly believe that culture should be transmitted to students through the texts, and that they wished there were more materials in English about Asian countries, rather than the standard U.S./European fare. Finally, Mr. Suzuki commented that for students reading new content was like a window on the world. He felt one of the main purposes of reading in English was to "get content," such as philosophy, science, and historical trends. What comes through here is the teachers' desire that the text "educate" students in many ways, not just help them learn English.

Mr. Suzuki felt that reading easy texts is sometimes good for students, and that they will not need to translate in such cases. However, he felt that easy texts do not pose enough of a "challenge" for students, and without being challenged they will not progress. Both teachers voiced the belief that their students were nowhere near ready to "succeed" with the university entrance exams that they would have to take 18 months in the future, despite the difficulty of their current textbook. Thus, the teachers seem to have dual goals—to educate the students about the world, and to help them pass university entrance exams. In their opinion, these dual goals add up to difficult texts.

Both teachers reported to be profoundly concerned that the study of English texts would also better students' minds and improve their ability to think "logically." Both teachers saw this as something that would last students a lifetime. Both teachers also saw students' ability to understand the author's message as a function of reading ability. This is to say that students with low ability could probably translate adequately but not really understand the "deep message" of the text.

Instructional Practice #3: *The classes resemble intensive reading classes.* Both teachers expressed the belief that students should be prepared for university entrance exams. This means, in Mr. Honda's words, that students should be able to process English passages "quickly and correctly." He said they should also be able to answer multiple choice comprehension and grammar questions about the passage. Mr. Suzuki commented that students need to learn sentence patterns and vocabulary in order to do well on the exams.

Another belief reported by the teachers that seemingly underpins this practice has to do with what Mr. Suzuki called the "logic" of the author (Mr. Honda termed it "English logic"). Both teachers firmly feel that this "logic" is very helpful for students to understand English passages. Mr. Honda went so far as to say that if students are guided carefully through the first paragraph of a text, then they will understand the rest of the text. He said he also tried to help students find the "one main idea" he believed exists in each paragraph in English texts by helping students identify different grammatical elements in each sentence, and then looking at the paragraph as a whole.

Instructional Practice #4: *The language of classroom instruction is Japanese.* Neither teacher expressed beliefs underpinning this practice. Mr. Honda commented, however, that one of the weak points of *yakudoku* is that students do not learn to "speak or listen in English." Several times during the class observation Mr. Honda told the researcher that at several times he felt "shy" that a native speaker of English (the researcher) was in the room.

Instructional Practice #5: *Teachers don't ask students to produce English.* In the context of an exception—quizzes in which students do write out English sentences, Mr. Honda believed students should write out full sentences in English, as he believed this helps students learn English vocabulary. Mr. Honda commented further that for students to create their own English sentences would be too difficult, but he believed that if given a model to follow, students could copy that.

Instructional Practice #6: *The teachers demand conformity in students' translations and quiz answers.* Both teachers felt that learning a foreign language involves a lot of memorization. Mr. Suzuki commented that for students to sufficiently prepare for the daily quiz they had to memorize their translations and answers to questions he posed in an earlier class.

In the October 30 class, after the students had made their first attempt at a listening dictation, he told them that if they memorized English sentences, they could write out the sentences correctly even if they did not completely hear what was on the tape. Mr. Honda commented from a different standpoint—he felt that for students to pass university entrance exams, they have to read English passages "correctly and quickly."

Instructional Practice #7: *Classes are teacher-centered*. Neither teacher directly commented on this phenomenon. However, they did express points of view that explain it. First, both teachers believe their classes of 40+ students are too large. It could be that, in the interests of classroom management, teachers feel they should maintain strict control. Second, both teachers felt strongly that they operate under time pressure, and that the curriculum is very full. They felt it is important to get through large amounts of text in class, and that with classes that meet only three times a week, they do not have the time they would like to cover the texts more thoroughly.

Instructional Practice #8: *Students are assessed often*. Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Honda reported somewhat different reasons for doing this. Mr. Suzuki felt that the quizzes were purely motivational, and without them, students would not translate the textbook. Mr. Honda used the daily tests as a way to get students to write out full sentences in English, which he felt was beneficial to students' learning. Both teachers mentioned using the daily tests to monitor whether or not students were keeping up. Concerning the 11 "terminal" tests based on the home readers, the researcher feels that the teachers' comments above concerning the need for English to be "challenging" have bearing on this practice. Mr. Suzuki said he can tell from the students' scores whether or not they've translated their home readers.

Discussion

In this section, four points will be discussed.

First, the results of this study generally confirm earlier characterizations of *yakudoku*. Translation was found to be at the heart of these *yakudoku* classrooms, which accords with the findings of Hino (1988), Law (1995), and Yukawa (1992, 1994). There were substantial amounts of explicit grammar instruction, but this was nearly always in the context of translating English text into Japanese. In striving to create good Japanese translations, the teachers created classes that resembled Japanese language classes more than English classes, a tendency noted by Law (1995). *Yakudoku* was found to resemble intensive reading classes with a strong focus on the written text. Oral/aural skills were not developed, confirming previous characterizations of *yakudoku* (Henrichsen, 1989; Hino, 1988; Law, 1995).

Second, *yakudoku* is really about teacher control. Students were required to translate at nearly every juncture, and their translations were checked, and controlled, by the teachers in and out of class. Even with "home readers" that one teacher felt students could read without translating, the students were required to translate. The researcher believes that in this context, *yakudoku* is pedagogy that affords teachers powerful control over students' language learning activities. When students translate, they create written proof of their having processed the assigned text. And when students reveal their translations in class, the translations are, in a sense, "edited" by teachers so that the other students receive the "correct" version. Pedagogical issues aside, there remains the question of how this sort of language processing affects the students' foreign language reading ability and acquisition. This is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

Third, there is washback on *yakudoku* from university entrance exams. University entrance examinations were found to have a pervasive influence on teachers' *yakudoku* practices. In interviews, both teachers reported that in choosing what aspects of English to focus on in class, they considered what grammar structures or sentence patterns might appear on future exams. At one point, the researcher was given a report published by a commercial cram school that summarized the features of recent entrance exams.

This focus on the entrance exams can also be seen in the strongly teacher-centered classrooms, and teachers' insistence on conformity in students' answers. Mr. Honda stated in an interview that to do well on the exams, students had to be able to read English passages "quickly and correctly." Perhaps he felt that if students are to pass these important exams, they should become accustomed to making their answers "count" by being correct. Generally, these results confirm Law (1994, 1995), Reader (1986), and Rohlen (1983). The overall purpose of these *yakudoku* EFL classes does seem to be university exam preparation.

But what doesn't make sense is that most university exams don't actually require students to translate, which is what *yakudoku* is all about. Surveys of private and public university exams in recent years indicate that English reading passages with comprehension questions, and not translation tasks, comprise the greatest number of test items (Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Law, 1994). The answer to this may be that *yakudoku* has a pedagogical life of its own. It fulfills something deeper in Japanese society than helping students develop second language ability to pass the English section of entrance exams. Perhaps traits that *yakudoku* is thought to develop in students, such as mental discipline (Hino, 1988), are seen as helping to build students' characters.

Fourth, the "English and American literature" paradigm has a strong influence on teachers' instruction. As noted earlier, the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (1983, pp. 263-264) found that respondents to their nationwide survey of university teachers subscribed to one of three paradigms for EFL education. The largest group felt that intensive reading, translation, and appreciation of literary works were the elements of a good foreign language program. It was clear that both Mr. Honda and Mr. Suzuki upheld this paradigm. That they were acting out of their own educational experiences through their high school instruction is evident.

There are many shortcomings in this study. Fortunately, these shortcomings point to possible avenues of future research. The most glaring shortcoming is the small number of classroom observations. To really understand what teachers are doing with yakudoku and what they believe about it, a longer-term project with longitudinal observations in a variety of schools is needed. Developing such a long-term relationship with Japanese high school teachers could be a stumbling block, however. As helpful and friendly as the teachers in this study were at the outset, it was clear after a certain point that they really didn't have the time or the desire to construct a long-term research relationship.

Also, because of linguistic difficulties, the researcher has not completed a thorough literature search of Japanese-language sources on *yakudoku*. Any in-depth treatment of *yakudoku* would require a strong grounding in Japanese perspectives on this apparently prevalent language learning pedagogy.

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Greta Gorsuch, a former Editor of *The Language Teacher*, is a doctoral candidate at Temple University, Japan, Tokyo campus. Her research interests include testing, teaching methodologies, teacher education, and pronunciation.

Note

1. For research and commentary in English specific to the nature of the English sections on Japanese university entrance exams, and its effects on students and EFL curricula, see Berwick & Ross, 1989; Brown & Yamashita, 1995a; Brown & Yamashita, 1995b; Buck, 1988; Januzzi, 1994; Kimura & Visgatis, 1996; Law, 1994; Law, 1995; and Reader, 1986; also see Brown & Yamashita, 1995b for numerous references to contributions on these issues made by scholars in Japanese.

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Appendix A: Confidentiality Agreement with Teachers

Date: October 4, 1996
School: XXXXX High School, XXXXX, XXXXX

The following message and the questions below were given to the teachers a week prior to the interview. They affirmed they understood the message. The teachers' responses are marked in green ink, and later comments by the researcher in red.

I'd like to interview you for about 40 minutes about the English II class I observed. Your name, your students' names, and the name of your school will be completely confidential. No one but myself and the interpreter will listen to this audiotape. Please answer the questions as best you can. If there are any questions you cannot understand, please just say so. You can end this interview at any time if you feel you can't continue.

Appendix B: Extracts from Class Textbook

"No more heroes?" Kenan, 1995, Lines 1-27:

The word hero can be confusing, for it has several meanings. It is often applied to ordinary people who happen to perform an act of great courage—a fireman who saves someone from a burning house at the risk of his own life, for example. Then the principal character of a play, a novel, or a film is known as the hero of the story, even if he is not particularly brave. But the heroes and heroines that we are going to consider now constitute a third group. They are the giants, the out-of-ordinary figures whose superiority fills our hearts with admiration and awe; the men and women who gave us a high example to follow, a purpose in life, or sometimes just a dream, because they represent the person that we would like to be.

Many articles have appeared in recent years, claiming that there are no more heroes in the Western world. The authors say that, particularly in Europe and North America, the young now refuse to admire anyone; that we are living in a world too well informed, too curious and critical for hero worship. The press, books, and television keep showing us the faults of the public figures who could become today's stars, until we lose faith and start looking for defects in any person who seems worthy of respect. In a neighbor or statesman, we try to discover the weaknesses, failures, or ugly motives that are surely hiding behind his noblest actions.

"Stephen Hawking," Ferguson, 1995, Lines 40-64:

During his third year at Oxford Hawking had been getting clumsy. He'd fallen once or twice for no apparent reason. The following autumn, at Cambridge, he had trouble tying his shoes and sometimes had difficulty talking.

Shortly after this twenty-first birthday in January 1963, Hawking found himself not back at Cambridge for the Lent term but in a hospital for tests. After two weeks they released him, telling him vaguely that what he had wasn't a "typical case" and that it wasn't multiple sclerosis. The doctors suggested he go back to Cambridge and get on with his work. "I gathered," Hawking remembers, "that they expected it to continue to get worse, and that there was nothing they could do, except give me vitamins. I could see that they didn't expect them to have much effect. I didn't feel like asking for details, because they were so obviously bad."

Hawking had contracted a rare disease for which there is no known cure, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, known in America as Lou Gehrig's disease. It breaks down the nerve cells in the spinal cord and brain that control voluntary muscle activity. The first symptoms are usually weakness and twitching of the hands, and perhaps unclear speech and difficulty in swallowing.

Japanese EFL Learners' Perception of Politeness in Low Imposition Requests

Hiroko Matsuura
Fukushima University

This study examined Japanese and American perceptual differences of politeness in English requests in order to find points that can be implemented in EFL classrooms in Japan. For this purpose, 77 Japanese and 48 American university students were given 11 English sentences which were to be used in the action of borrowing a pen, with a seven-point rating scale attached. Findings were as follows: Japanese rated "May I borrow a pen?" to be almost in the neutral politeness zone whereas Americans rated it as a very polite request; in the case of a close-friend as an addressee, Japanese tended to think that "Could you/I . . . ?" form was less than marginal while Americans saw the form as an appropriate request; and Japanese tended to think other Japanese could use rather casual requests of American students whereas Americans would expect them to use more polite expressions.

本研究は、英語依頼表現の丁寧度について、日本人とアメリカ人の認識の相違を分析したものである。丁寧度に認識に相違があるとすれば、授業で取り上げることにより、日本人英語学習者の社会言語能力の向上に寄与することが期待される。日本人大学生７７名、アメリカ人大学生４８名を被験者とし、ペンを借りる際の英語依頼表現として１１の異なる英文を与え、その丁寧度・適当度を７段階に評価させた結果、以下の事が判明した。日本人は"May I borrow a pen?"が自然な丁寧表現と感じる一方、アメリカ人は親しい間柄での使用には非常に丁寧な表現と感じる。日本人は"Could you/I ...?"表現が丁寧さを欠いた表現と感じる一方、アメリカ人は適度な丁寧表現であると感じる。日本人はアメリカ人に対して比較的くだけた表現を使用できると考えるが、アメリカ人は日本人がより丁寧な表現を使うことを期待している。

In recent years, the importance of teaching pragmatic aspects has been widely acknowledged by ESL/EFL teachers, and, for the purpose of identifying points to be applied in actual language classrooms, a number of rigorous studies have been conducted. Many such pragmatic studies centered around finding problematic areas for learners, and analyzing students' interlanguage by comparing and contrasting it with authentic data collected from native speakers. Research areas that have

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most attracted teachers are those of linguistic politeness within the framework of speech acts. Classroom teachers often observe that their students, not knowing an appropriate expression for a certain situation, easily violate the social norms of native speakers, and as a consequence they sound arrogant or impolite. Tanaka (1988), for example, reported that in a book-borrowing situation, Australians were likely to use more modals as mitigating devices as in "Someone said that you might have that book," whereas Japanese ESL students in Australia tended to say "My friend said you have the book," which could sound as if they were saying, "I have proved that you have the book so lend it to me" (p. 89). As Trosborg (1995) stated, a request is an act in which the speaker imposes on the hearer in order to bring about a desired action. It is generally at the cost of the requestee, and therefore, if inadequately performed by the requester the friendly atmosphere between interlocutors can easily break down.

Assuming that there are some differences in the degree of perceived politeness between native speakers and nonnative speakers, this study aims to explore how the Japanese perception of politeness in making English requests could differ from that of Americans. Specifically, this study is intended to examine the perceptual differences of American and Japanese university students toward 1) the level of politeness given English requests, 2) the level of appropriateness for the use of these requests with people of different social and psychological distances, and 3) the level of acceptability of those English requests if used by someone who is not a native speaker of English. By analyzing data obtained from American and Japanese students, it is hoped that some specific points can be found which could be exploited in actual EFL classrooms in Japan.

Politeness and L2 Requests

In second language acquisition research, politeness usually means pragmalinguistically appropriate language usage. Politeness is defined by Lakoff (1990) as "a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange" (p. 34). Generally, it is a concept which is commonly seen across cultures and languages. Brown and Levinson (1987), for example, investigated universal politeness strategies observed in three languages: English, Tamil, and Tzeltal, bringing the notion of "face" into their theory of politeness. According to Brown and Levinson, when we interact socially, certain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten the face, or the public self-image, of ourselves or other people. These acts are referred to as "face-threatening acts" (1987, p. 25).

Politeness is often investigated within the framework of such speech acts as requests (Fukushima & Iwata, 1987; Fukushima, 1995; Kitao, 1990; Niki & Tajika, 1994; Tajika & Niki, 1991; Takahashi, 1996; Tanaka & Kawade, 1982; Tanaka, 1988; Trosborg, 1995), complaints (Boxer, 1993; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Trosborg, 1995), refusals (Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990) and apologies (Bergman & Kasper, 1993; Garcia, 1989; Trosborg, 1987; Trosborg, 1995). These are acts which could intrinsically threaten the face of a hearer especially when inappropriately used by a speaker.

Among these speech act categories, requesting may be the act in which native/non-native differences in politeness strategies have been the most extensively examined by Japanese researchers. Tanaka and Kawade (1982), examining request strategies of advanced ESL learners in comparison to those of native speakers, claimed two types of distance existed between addressers and addressees: social distance and psychological distance. Social distance was defined as a function of such variables as age, sex, and social status. Psychological distance was related to how one perceives another in relation to oneself. The authors suggested that psychological distance might play a more important role in selecting a politeness strategy than social distance, because the latter would affect the former. They concluded that the non-native speakers, like the native speakers, were able to use different politeness strategies in accordance with varying situations, but with one difference. In certain situations, the non-native speakers tended to employ strategies which were less polite, whereas those the native speakers used were more polite.

Kitao (1990) examined three groups of subjects, Americans, Japanese studying in the U.S., and Japanese living in Japan, finding that "The higher the hearer's power in relation to the speaker, the higher the level of politeness used," and "The Japanese perceive negative politeness [as] less polite than Americans" (p. 190). On the other hand, his findings failed to support the hypothesis that "The Japanese use less polite strategies than Americans do" (p. 190).

Tajika and Niki (1991) illustrated the differences in norms of English and Japanese sentence forms in borrowing situations. In Japanese the sentence form ***kashite-*** (Can/Could you lend . . . ?) is preferred to the ***karite-*** (Can/Could I borrow . . . ?). This preference is clearly reflected in English sentences made by Japanese students—i.e., Japanese students used the "Can/Could you lend . . . ?" pattern of requests more often than the "Can/Could I borrow . . . ?" pattern.

Fukushima (1995) compared patterns of requests used by native English speakers in the U.K. and Japanese EFL learners with intermediate

English proficiency. She found that in a situation of low imposition, the British often used speaker-dominant expressions (e.g., Could I borrow your salt, please?), while in a situation of high imposition they did not use this pattern of expression but rather used hearer-dominant ones (e.g., Would you mind putting one of my friends up for the night?). EFL learners in her study, on the other hand, did not switch patterns depending on degrees of imposition because of the lack of pragmatic knowledge and limited English proficiency.

Takahashi (1993, 1996) examined the transferability of Japanese indirect request strategies to corresponding English request contexts. She defined pragmatic transferability as "the transferability rate obtained by subtracting the acceptability rate of an English indirect request from the acceptability rate of its Japanese equivalent in a particular situation " (Takahashi, 1993, p. 63). She found that contextual factors played a major role in determining transferability at the pragmatic level, and that proficiency had some effect on the transferability of indirect request strategies (Takahashi, 1993).

Politeness is seen as a neutral label for a scale ranging from 'polite (plus-politeness)' to 'impolite (minus-politeness)' with the neutral 'non-polite (zero-politeness)' in the middle (Ide, Ogino, Kawasaki & Ikuta, 1986; Ide, Hill, Carnes, Ogino & Kawasaki, 1992). Both studies used the scale to examine the degree of politeness, which may vary from person to person and from situation to situation. Ide et al. (1986) examined requesting strategies used by Japanese and American college students in their native languages. The results confirmed their assumption that a Japanese, according to the addressee's social status, is likely to use a limited number of expressions of an appropriate politeness level, whereas an American uses a variety of expressions depending on the addressee's perceived distance from the speaker. Furthermore, they illustrated politeness degrees of various types of requests in both languages.

The present study also examines request forms of low imposition, i.e., expressions for asking for a pen. As stated earlier, this study compares perceptual differences between Japanese and Americans toward given English requests. As in Ide et al. (1986), this study also examines the politeness levels of requests. The scope of the study, however, is different. This study aims to compare and contrast Japanese EFL learners' interlanguage perceptions to some specific linguistic forms with those of native speakers vis-à-vis the same forms, whereas Ide et al. examined how Japanese and American L1 requests were different both sociolinguistically and psychologically.

The research questions addressed in this study are:

1. In which of the given requests do Japanese EFL students perceive a different degree of politeness from Americans? And where does this possibly come from?
2. For which of the given requests do Japanese perceive a different degree of appropriateness from Americans when those requests are addressed to those at varying social distances?
3. In which of the given requests do Japanese perceive a different degree of acceptability when those requests are used by Japanese students and not by Americans?

The Study: *Method*

Subjects: The Japanese subjects were 77 university English majors (15 males and 62 females) living in the Tokyo area. All had passed the Step 2 test, equivalent to English proficiency of TOEFL 450 or above. The American subjects were 48 university students (24 male and 24 female) specializing in various fields at two universities, one in Colorado and the other in Illinois. The average age of the Americans was 20.96 (range 17 to 28), while the average age of Japanese subjects was 20.17 (range 19 to 22).

In order to determine whether instruction may have had any effect, 17 native speakers of Japanese teaching English at college level were also administered the first section of the questionnaire (see Measure below). All had obtained either a master's degree or doctorate in teaching English or Applied Linguistics. This group had lived either in the U.K. or in the U.S.A. for periods from three months to four years.

Measure: In a paper and pencil questionnaire, subjects were asked to indicate their perceptions of politeness in requests. The questionnaire consisted of three sections. The first section, to measure the degrees of politeness perceived by Japanese and American subjects, included 11 English sentences to be used in asking for a pen, with a seven-point rating scale. On the rating scale "1" meant "most uninhibited" whereas "7" indicated "most careful." Sets of opposites such as "polite" vs. "impolite" and "formal and informal" were avoided because Ide et al. (1986) suggested that these imply somewhat different connotations from their Japanese translations. As "polite" and "formal" might imply stiffness in manner (Ide et al., 1986), the adjectival pair of "uninhibited" and "careful" and their Japanese counterparts were used in the questionnaire.

In the second section, the same 11 English sentences were rated according to the appropriateness of each sentence toward people of different perceived distances to themselves: toward their academic advisor, a stranger they meet at a post office, and a close-friend. It was assumed that academic advisors are socially distant but psychologically either close to or distant from the subjects. In other words, the social status of advisors is high, and therefore, they should be respected, but psychological closeness depends on the subjects' interpersonal relationship with their advisors. A stranger they meet at a post office is socially unknown and psychologically distant. Here, the subjects' perceived distance is presumably not close. The distance to close-friends, not just acquaintances, is usually very close, both socially and psychologically.

In the third section, subjects, using the seven-point rating scale, indicated the acceptability of each sentence when it was used by a Japanese student toward the subject's academic advisor, a stranger at a post office, and a subject's close-friend. In other words, the addresser is a Japanese student, and the addressees are the people the subjects either know very well or is just a stranger. The addresser, however, is expected to know their social status. Affective factors toward subjects' advisors and close-friends might influence their acceptability judgment.

Unlike the study of Tajika and Niki (1991), which strictly differentiated requests (e.g., Could you lend . . . ?) from asking for permission (e.g., May I borrow . . . ?), this study treated both as requests in that a speaker's intended message is the same, i.e., "Let me use your pen," no matter what the form. In each section of the questionnaire, the mean ratings for the 11 requests were computed to obtain results in terms of degrees of politeness, appropriateness, and the acceptability of each sentence.

Results and Discussion

Degrees of politeness

The Japanese and American subjects indicated similar perceptions for the politeness levels for the 11 sentences. Table 1 shows the average ratings of degrees for politeness perceived by Japanese and American subject groups. Both groups felt that "I was wondering if I could borrow a pen" was the most polite request, followed by such interrogatives as "Could you lend me a pen?" and "Could I borrow a pen?" On the other hand, imperatives such as "Lend me a pen" and "Give me a pen" were seen as uninhibited requests.

Table 1: Degrees of Politeness

Request	Americans		Japanese		Rank Orders	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	Americans	Japanese
1. I was wondering if I could...	6.29	1.15	6.49	1.00	1	1
2. May I borrow a pen?	6.02	1.36	4.21	1.54	2	6
3. Could you lend me a pen?	5.29	1.24	5.83	1.07	3	2
4. Could I borrow a pen?	5.19	1.16	5.60	1.07	4	3
5. Do you have a pen I can use?	5.17	1.36	4.65	1.59	5	4
6. Can you lend me a pen?	4.75	1.19	4.34	1.36	6	5
7. Can I borrow a pen?	4.38	1.31	3.90	1.40	7	7
8. Got a pen I can use?	2.33	1.00	2.51	1.43	8	9
9. Let me borrow a pen.	2.15	1.24	2.81	1.45	9	8
10. Lend me a pen.	1.44	0.92	1.30	0.61	10	10
11. Give me a pen.	1.27	1.11	1.22	0.50	11	11

Although Japanese and American subjects generally indicated similar degrees of politeness in the sentences, there was discrepancy in perceptions toward the interrogative "May I borrow a pen?" The American average rating for this interrogative was 6.02, the second most polite. On the other hand, the Japanese mean rating for the "May I . . . ?" form was only 4.21, almost in the neutral, zero-politeness zone. It was evident that the Japanese subjects did not see this expression as being as polite as the Americans did.

The Japanese subjects in this study seemed to apply a generalization which claims that "interrogatives with present tense modals are less polite than interrogatives with past tense modals." In fact, two interrogatives with past tense modals, "Could you lend me a pen?" and "Could I borrow a pen?" were perceived to be more polite than "May I borrow a pen?" Others have pointed out this generalization is basically true (Carrell & Konneker, 1981) but not always. It should be noted that it has been widely taught in high school classrooms in Japan.

To determine if instruction had played any significant role in the students' perceived politeness toward the 'May I . . . ?' form, 17 Japanese native speakers teaching English evaluated the degrees of politeness of the 11 sentences. The mean rating of the teachers was 5.29, between the mean rating of the American (6.02) and the Japanese (4.21) subjects. ANOVA results indicated that the mean ratings of the groups were statistically significantly different (see Table 2). Despite the educational and personal backgrounds of this group of Japanese educators, it was likely that the

Table 2: ANOVA for Politeness Degrees of "May I . . . ?"

Source of variance	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*
Between groups	106.19	2	53.09	23.66*
Within groups	311.89	139	2.24	
Total	418.08	141		

*$p < .01$

Japanese educators had their own standards of judgment for the degree of politeness in the "May I . . . ?" form. Japanese EFL teachers in general, who do not have such backgrounds, may have even more difficulty indicating the native norm of politeness perception toward this interrogative, which may affect the teaching of the politeness level of this form.

Degrees of Appropriateness

Japanese and American subjects were asked to rate the degrees of appropriateness of the 11 sentences when used toward their academic advisor, a stranger they met at a post office, and a close friend. Means of Japanese and American subjects are shown in Table 3.

In general, American subjects, as well as their Japanese counterparts, appeared to use almost the same politeness level of requests when talking to an advisor or a stranger. Their average ratings of the sentences were quite similar and they rated polite sentences to be appropriate for such people. On the other hand, when asking a close friend for a pen, relatively uninhibited and casual expressions were perceived to be appropriate.

In the situations of borrowing a pen from an advisor and from a stranger, both the American and the Japanese subject groups tended to avoid using the most polite form. Americans rated "May I borrow a pen?" as most appropriate, followed by "I was wondering if I could borrow a pen." The third most appropriate form was "Do you have a pen I can use?" followed by the more polite interrogatives "Could I borrow a pen?" and "Could you lend me a pen?" Similarly, the Japanese chose their second most polite expression ("Could you lend me . . . ?") as the most appropriate form, ranking their most polite expression, "I was wondering if I could . . . ," as third most appropriate. In general, both groups of subjects tended to prefer relatively polite forms but apparently not the most polite one. This seems to be the influence of the degree of imposition involved in borrowing a pen. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the degree of imposition plays an important role in the choice of politeness strategies. Niki and Tajika (1994) reported that the degree of imposition affected the Japanese EFL learners' choice of request forms. In the present study, the item to be borrowed is a pen, which seems to have a low degree of imposition. Items with high degrees of imposition might draw different results.

There are some differences in the perceptions of Americans and Japanese in the close-friend situation (see Figures 1 & 2). While both subjects indicated that forms which were too polite were inappropriate (e.g., "I was wondering if I could . . ." was rated 3.83 by Americans and 2.26 by Japanese), Japanese perceptions of such polite forms as "Could you lend . . . ?" and "Could I borrow . . . ?" were quite different from those of Americans. The American means for these expressions were on the positive side of the scale (5.48 for both sentences), whereas the Japanese means were on the negative side (3.52 for "Could you lend . . . ?" and 3.69 for "Could I borrow . . . ?). Japanese may have assumed those interrogatives were too polite for close friends. Highly evaluated politeness degrees of "Could you/ I . . . ?" also suggested that this could be true. The Japanese mean for "Could

Table 3: Degrees of Appropriateness

	Advisor				Stranger				Close Friend			
	Americans		Japanese		Americans		Japanese		Americans		Japanese	
Request	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
May I borrow a pen?	6.50	1.03	4.69	1.44	6.58	0.71	5.21	1.28	5.90	1.22	5.09	1.35
I was wondering if I could . . .	6.17	1.23	5.65	1.44	6.15	1.22	5.56	1.42	5.65	1.34	5.39	1.28
Do you have a pen I can use?	5.54	1.07	4.21	1.36	5.69	1.09	4.71	1.47	5.63	1.58	4.47	1.56
Could I borrow a pen?	5.44	1.22	5.73	1.12	5.65	1.08	5.88	1.03	5.48	1.49	3.52	1.58
Could you lend me a pen?	5.31	1.29	5.88	1.30	5.42	1.22	6.17	0.94	5.48	1.43	3.69	1.65
Can I borrow a pen?	4.94	1.34	4.42	1.32	5.27	1.35	5.04	1.21	5.40	1.47	4.86	1.34
Can you lend me a pen?	4.88	1.30	4.38	1.44	4.98	1.59	5.14	1.20	4.90	1.65	5.03	1.40
Got a pen I can use?	2.33	1.21	2.32	1.23	2.96	1.57	2.47	1.10	4.50	1.90	4.69	1.47
Let me borrow a pen.	1.73	0.92	2.60	1.38	1.79	1.01	3.26	1.56	4.17	1.91	5.27	1.72
Lend me a pen.	1.31	0.97	1.36	1.02	1.38	0.79	1.60	0.92	3.83	2.16	2.26	1.42
Give me a pen.	1.13	0.73	1.17	0.50	1.19	0.73	1.43	0.72	3.52	2.07	4.99	1.83

you . . . ?" was 5.83 and the mean for "Could I . . . ?" was 5.60, indicating that the Japanese subjects perceived these forms to be more polite than their American counterparts.

In the close-friend case, the Japanese perceptions toward expressions with low politeness degrees were also different from those of the Americans (see Figures 1 & 2). The Japanese subjects tended to think that even lower degrees of requests could be used toward close friends, as in such imperatives as "Lend me a pen" (mean 5.27) and "Give me a pen" (mean 4.99). The Americans, on the other hand, saw those sentences as marginal (4.17 for "Lend . . ." and 3.52 for "Give . . ."). It appeared that while Japanese had a tendency to prefer neutral or casual expressions to polite ones, Americans did not. This was also borne out by the fact that their rating of the three most polite expressions (i.e., "I was wondering if I could . . . ," "Could you lend me . . . ?" and "Could I borrow . . . ?") coincided with their three least appropriate expressions.

Degrees of Acceptability

In the third section, both American and Japanese subjects, using the seven-point scale, indicated how acceptable each of the 11 sentences was when addressed to their academic advisor, a stranger at a post office, and a friend when a Japanese student was the addresser. The questionnaire indicated that this Japanese student did not have a close relationship with any of these three addressees. As stated earlier, it was assumed that the addresser could tell the social status of the addressees. It was also assumed that there would be both acceptable forms and unacceptable forms for American subjects even if they knew that the addresser was an international student whose pragmalinguistic competence was not fully native-like.

Discussion of acceptability is normally concerned with native speakers' acceptability judgment for non-native performance in that ESL/EFL teachers should know to what extent students' deviations can be accepted by native speakers. Here also, the results of acceptability judgment by American subjects could be represented as native norms. Ratings are in Table 4. Americans preferred "May I borrow . . . ?" regardless of who the addressee was. It is also clear that highly polite forms were generally preferred, even in the friend case, which had a supposedly casual atmosphere. However, although highly polite forms were preferred, the most polite form, "I was wondering if I could . . . ," was chosen as the second most acceptable. Again, this is probably because the item borrowed, a pen, was expected to cause low imposition.

In all three cases, the American subjects showed a clear boundary between acceptable and unacceptable forms, with the exception of

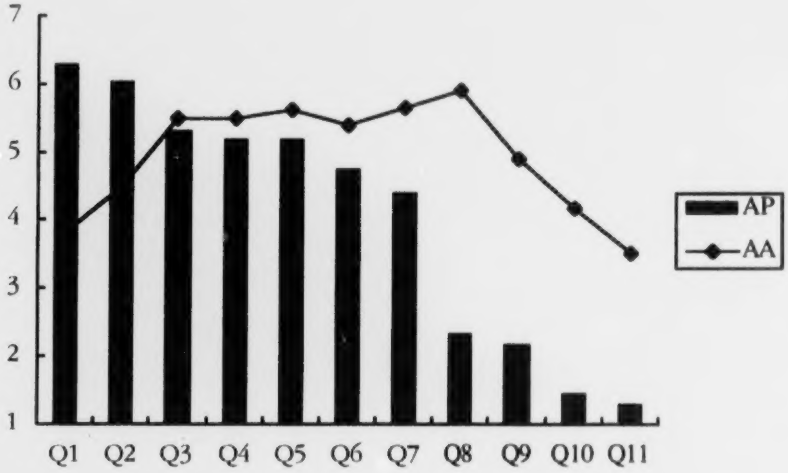
Table 4: Degrees of Acceptibility

Request	Advisor Mean (*SD*) *Americans*	Advisor Mean (*SD*) *Japanese*	Stranger Mean (*SD*) *Americans*	Stranger Mean (*SD*) *Japanese*	Close Friend Mean (*SD*) *Americans*	Close Friend Mean (*SD*) *Japanese*
May I borrow a pen?	6.73 (0.64)	4.75 (1.41)	6.63 (0.98)	5.28 (1.25)	6.48 (1.17)	5.24 (1.32)
I was wondering if I could . . .	6.42 (1.07)	5.78 (1.33)	6.44 (1.09)	5.43(1 53)	6.13 (1.35)	4.25 (1.74)
Do you have a pen I can use?	5.92 (1.05)	6.07 (1.06)	5.92 (1.29)	4.57 (1.53)	5.96 (1.20)	5.13 (1.50)
Could I borrow a pen?	5.69 (1.24)	5.83 (1.05)	5.85 (1.07)	5.79 (1.00)	5.81 (1.30)	5.24 (1.46)
Could you lend me a pen?	5.69 (1.24)	5.83 (1.05)	5.85 (1.07)	5.79 (1.00)	5.81 (1.30)	5.24 (1.46)
Can I borrow a pen?	5.56 (1.17)	4.3[illegible] (1.29)	5.52 (1.37)	4.93 (1.29)	5.73 (1.35)	5.30 (1.25)
Can you lend me a pen?	5.42 (1.27)	4.46 (1.32)	5.35 (1.55)	5.09 (1.23)	5.58 (1.37)	5.26 (1.19)
Got a pen I can use?	2.63 (1.27)	2.43 (1.15)	2.94 (1.58)	2.68 (1.22)	4.02 (1.76)	3.62 (1.51)
Let me borrow a pen.	1.94 (1.10)	2.79 (1.52)	2.21 (1.49)	3.22 (1.38)	2.71 (1.81)	4.12 (1.45)
Lend me a pen.	1.46 (0.80)	1.54 (1.11)	1.44 (0.87)	1.83 (1.05)	2.00 (1.32)	2.91 (1.78)
Give me a pen.	1.08 (0.35)	1.30 (0.65)	1.17 (0.60)	1.49 (0.76)	1.54 (1.13)	2.72 (1.84)

"Got a pen I can use?" with a close friend. This sentence was almost on the boundary. Expressions with higher degrees of politeness than "Can I borrow a pen?" were determined to be acceptable. Unacceptable forms, on the other hand, were those with lower degrees of politeness than "Got a pen I can use?" It appeared that the more polite a sentence, the more preferabe it was to American subjects. In other words, they would expect Japanese students to use rather polite expressions.

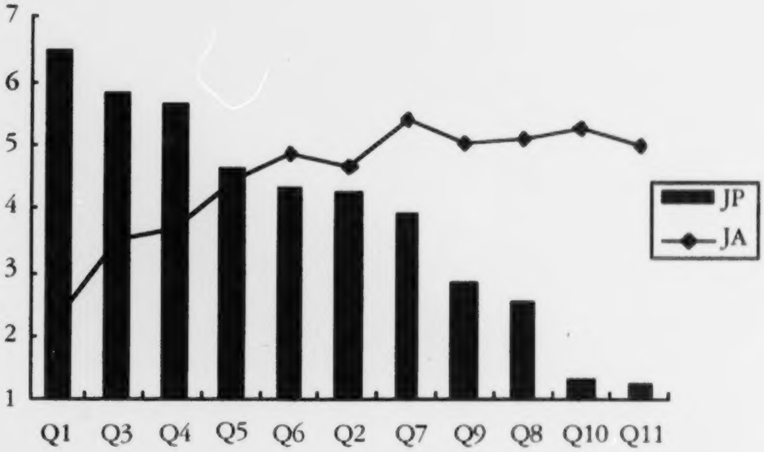
Japanese subjects also rated the acceptability of sentences, assuming the addresser was another Japanese student. When the addressee was a close friend, some interesting differences in Japanese and American perceptions were observed. The following point should be noted: Japanese subjects tended to think some expressions of lower degrees of politeness could be used by another Japanese. The Japanese mean rating of acceptability for "Let me borrow a pen" was 4.12, whereas the American mean was 2.71. Also, Japanese subjects tended to think that the po-

Figure 1: Degrees of Politeness and Appropriateness by Americans in the Close Friend Situation



AP = Degrees of Politeness by Americans
AA = Degrees of Appropriateness by Americans

Figure 2: Degrees of Politeness and Appropriateness by Japanese in the Close Friend Situation



JP = Degrees of Politeness by Japanese
JA = Degrees of Appropriateness by Japanese

lite expression as "I was wondering if I could . . ." was marginal in terms of its acceptability, whereas Americans indicated that this form was highly acceptable. The Japanese mean for this sentence was 4.25; the American mean 6.31. These results draw an important implication of which Japanese EFL learners should become aware: i.e., native speakers of English in general would expect them to use more polite expressions than they might think necessary or might use, even in casual interactions between college students.

Implications and Conclusions

The results of this study suggest some important implications for EFL classrooms in Japan. Some notable results center around Japanese underestimation of the degree of politeness of the "May I . . . ?" form, the degree of politeness appropriate in a close relationship, and the degree of politeness acceptable to native speakers of English.

Japanese students tended to underestimate the politeness level of the "May I . . . ?" form, which should be noted by classroom teachers. In this study, Japanese students rated this interrogative request to be almost neutral in politeness while Americans evaluated it as a very polite request. The politeness level of this particular form may be introduced as being relative to other request forms such as "I was wondering if I could . . ." and "Could I/Could you . . . ?" In this study, these all showed similar degrees of politeness as perceived by native speakers. The Japanese misconception of "May I . . . ?" may be due to instruction. As stated earlier, Japanese students are generally taught that "interrogatives with present tense modals are less polite than interrogatives with past tense modals." This might cause students to generalize that the "May I . . . ?" form is not as polite as "Could I/Could you . . . ?" and is quite similar to the politeness of "Can I/Can you . . . ?" Although the relationship between the students' proficiency and their judgment of the politeness level of English requests was not explored in this study, there may be some correlation. However, even Japanese teaching professionals with high English proficiency parted company from natives as to the politeness level of the "May I . . . ?" form. Their perceived degree of politeness for this particular request was between that of native speakers and Japanese students. This should be noted by both native and non-native teaching professionals, and the function and the politeness level of this particular form treated more carefully in Japanese EFL classrooms.

The next point of concern is regarding the appropriateness level of requests. Results showed that in the situation of close friend as an addressee, Japanese tended to think that they could use rather casual expressions, while Americans indicated that they might use more polite requests. For example, more Japanese than Americans might use such imperatives as "Lend me a pen" and "Give me a pen" in an actual interaction. In this study the Japanese subjects tended to evaluate these requests to be rather appropriate, while Americans judged them neutral in appropriateness. The Japanese preference for casual requests in the close-friend situation was also seen in their appropriateness judgment for "Could I borrow a pen?" and "Could you lend me a pen?" Many tended to think these to be inappropriate, and they preferred "Lend me a pen" and "Give me a pen." This was obviously not the case for Americans. This Japanese preference may be due to the transfer of a pragmatic concept and/or a linguistic function from the equivalent Japanese-speaking context. In borrowing a pen from a close friend, it is very common for a Japanese student to say "*Pen kashite* (Lend me a pen, will you?)." However, the English expression of "Lend me a pen, will you?" apparently cannot show exactly the same or even similar appropriateness level to this Japanese counterpart. Students need to be aware that such English imperatives as "Lend me a pen" and "Give me a pen" might be perceived as inappropriate, even with low imposition requests.

The third important implication is that Japanese should know that American students are likely to expect Japanese to use more polite expressions than they might think appropriate in borrowing a pen from a friend. As shown in the results, "Lend me a pen," for example, is a casual, uninhibited expression to Americans, appropriate for when addressing a friend. However, this particular imperative does not seem to be acceptable for American students when addressed by a Japanese student with whom the relationship is not close. They might simply think that the Japanese student is rude. It is likely that American students think a foreign student should use polite expressions rather than casual and colloquial ones. When a student's command of English is not fully like that of a native speaker, it is often safer for the learner to use polite expressions at all times.

Finally, there are some points to be taken into consideration for further studies on English requests. This study was limited in that it only examined Japanese and American perceptions to politeness in English expressions used in asking for a pen, which is presumed to have low imposition. Other pragmalinguistic aspects should be carefully considered in the future. However, it is almost impossible for a researcher to include a wide variety of aspects in one study at a time. Therefore, it is suggested that any future study should have a clear focus as to what it is examining: e.g., whether it is looking at production or perception, whether it is examining the sentence level of expressions or whole discourse, or whether it is focusing on expressions in borrowing something or in requesting some kind of action.

The following questions are as yet unanswered by this study: To what extent does learners' English proficiency affect their performance?; and, how are learners' requests accepted by native English speakers of varied educational and social backgrounds? Even though a number of studies on English requests have been conducted to this date, there is still much more to explore.

Hiroko Matsuura is an associate professor at Fukushima University. She currently teaches English and communication theories to Economics majors.

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EFLÅfs Othering of Japan: Orientalism in English Language Teaching

Bernard Susser
Doshisha Women's Junior College

This survey of two aspects of ESL/EFL (English as a second/foreign language) literature—advice to foreign teachers in Japan and research on cross-cultural learning styles—found many instances of what Edward W. Said called the discourse of "Orientalism." The argument is made that because of its Orientalism, the literature surveyed presents a distorted account of Japanese learners and classrooms.

本研究は、日本で英語授業を担当する外国人教員への指導アドバイスたるESL/EFL文献と文化的学習スタイルの研究報告を調査したものである。その結果、Edward W. Saidが「オリエンタリズム」と呼んだ論述の実例が多く発見された。本論文では、この「オリエンタリズム」によって、日本人学習者と日本の教育現場が著しくゆがめられた形でESL/EFL文献に報告される危険性を論じる。

Recent years have seen a vast increase in the number of foreign teachers in the Japanese educational system, contributing both to an improvement in Japanese students' foreign language skills, and to the "internationalization"[1] of Japanese society. As with most cross-cultural encounters, this one has not been free of problems, particularly concerning differences in those teaching methods, learning styles, and classroom behaviors familiar to foreign teachers on the one hand, and those expected or displayed by Japanese learners on the other. To redress these problems a large body of literature has appeared to advise foreign teachers in Japan. In addition, much research on cross-cultural and individual learning styles and strategies makes specific reference to Japanese learners. This literature contains many accurate observations and much good advice, but a close reading leaves the impression that many authors and researchers are writing in what Edward Said (1978/1994) has called the discourse of Orientalism, representing Japan as the Other, limiting what we can know of Japan, and in some cases expressing prejudice or hostility.

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This paper critiques the Orientalism of this ESL/EFL literature by drawing on works in Japanese studies, particularly in anthropology, history, and sociology, whose descriptions of Japan derive their authority from their linguistic and methodological expertise.[2] The investigation reveals Orientalism in ESL/EFL literature in both the advice to foreign teachers in Japan and the research on cross-cultural learning strategies involving Japanese students. I first define the key concepts and then apply representative examples drawn from this ESL/EFL literature to a model of Orientalist discourse.[3] My goal is to make their Orientalist discourse explicit so that foreign teachers will be more critical of published descriptions of Japanese education and students.

Terminology

Here I define a few terms that appear in my argument: Orientalism, discourse, Othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing.

Orientalism: "Orientalism" in the sense I use it here comes from Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*, published in 1978 and reprinted with an "Afterword" in 1994. This book, with its themes of hegemony, imperialism, colonialism, and racism (1978/1994, pp. 7-8, 13-14) and its use of postmodern literary theories of discourse and textuality (p. 13), made a strong impression on the academic world in the post-Vietnam War era, and is cited frequently to this day.[4] Even so, readers of this journal may be wondering what Said's work, devoted mostly to analyses of British and French works on the Near and Middle East, has to do with teaching English in Japan.[5] The connection is that this same Orientalist discourse permeates the ESL/EFL literature that I take up in this essay. This is dangerous because, as Said points out, "when one uses categories like Oriental and Western as both the starting and the end points of analysis, research, public policy . . ., the result is usually to polarize the distinction—the Oriental becomes more Oriental, the Westerner more Western—and limit the human encounter between different cultures, traditions, and societies" (pp. 45-46); this division itself is an expression of hostility (p. 45). This same polarization and hostility can be seen also in Japan's "self-Orientalism," the Nihonjinron (the theory of Japanese identity) literature, produced largely by and for a Japanese audience.[6]

Said defines Orientalism as "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience" (1978/1994, p. 1). Specifically, "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (p. 2); "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). Said argues that Orientalism is a discourse in Michel Foucault's sense of that term (p. 3) (see below); he sees Orientalism as an "imperialist tradition" (p. 15), as "a kind of intellectual *authority* over the Orient within Western culture" (p. 19), a representation of the Orient by the West (p. 21), "ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (p. 43). Orientalism is not a positive concept but "a set of constraints upon and limitations of thought" (p. 42).

Said is concerned particularly with the colonialism, ethnocentrism, and racism that characterize Western Europe's view of the Near and Middle East. As his argument progresses, his definition of Orientalism transmogrifies: it is "a system for citing works and authors" (1978/1994, p. 23), a rhetoric (p. 72), "a form of paranoia" (p. 72), a discipline (p. 73), a "collection of dreams, images, and vocabularies" (p. 73) , and more (pp. 95, 121, 202-204, 206). For our purposes, a work is in the Orientalist discourse vis-à-vis the Japanese learner of English if it has the following characteristics (the page references to Said indicate places where he mentions each characteristic; he does not refer to Japan, Japanese learners, or language education):

1) Othering: Posits the Japanese learner as an Other different from Western learners (p. 2) and by implication inferior to them (p. 42) .
2) Stereotyping: Stereotypes Japanese learners (p. 26).
3) Representing: Represents Japanese learners rather than depicting them (p. 21).
4) Essentializing: Essentializes or reduces Japanese learners to an abstraction (pp. 230 ff., 298-299).

These four characteristics form the model of Orientalism that I will apply to the ESL/EFL literature on Japanese learners.

Discourse: The term "discourse" is used widely today with many meanings (see, e.g., Norris, 1996; Wales, 1989, pp. 129-131); Said states specifically that he sees Orientalism as a discourse in Michel Foucault's sense of that term (1978/1994, p. 3).[7] For Said the main point is that texts in a discourse "create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe"; in other words, what appears in writings about, for example, language classrooms in Japan, is not true in any objective sense but is merely the product of a constellation of representations of such classrooms, characterized by othering, stereotyping, etc. What is important for our purposes here is that a discourse in this sense has two effects: for writers, it becomes a vehicle for control over the other; for readers, it shapes, distorts, and limits the readers' perception of reality (in this case the Japanese classroom or student).

Othering: "Other" and "Othering" are philosophical terms: "The question of the relation of self and other is the inaugurating question of Western philosophy and rhetoric" (Biesecker & McDaniel, 1996, p. 488; see also Kapila, 1997; Macey, 1996, pp. 392- 393; Riggins, 1997). For Said, the Orient is one of the West's "deepest and most recurring images of the Other" (1978/1994, p. 1). Although he concentrates on the Near and Middle East, other scholars have pointed to the role of China and Japan as the West's "Other"; Geertz, discussing Ruth Benedict's ***The Chrysanthemum and the Sword***, says, "But Japan, about the last such elsewhere located, or anyway penetrated, has been for us more absolutely otherwise. It has been the Impossible Object" (1988, p. 116; see also Iwabuchi, 1994; Tobin, 1986, p. 264; Tobin, 1991, p. 7; Zhang, 1988; note the title of Befu & Kreiner, 1992). Othering is not by definition a malignant act; to know ourselves, we must differentiate, as many philosophers have pointed out (Zhang, 1988, p. 113). The problem begins when "the nature of this 'Other,' in reality, has less to do with who the 'Other' is than with the identity of the subject who is gazing at the 'Other'" (Befu, 1992a, p. 17), so that we end by interpreting the other in the light of our own self-perceptions (see Iwabuchi, 1994). According to Befu (1992a, pp. 17-18), we can correct for this tendency by making comparative analyses of differing perceptions of the other, by comparing, for example, the images of Japan presented by British and by French scholarship.

Stereotyping: Said uses the term "stereotype" in a common-sense way without giving a technical definition (1978/1994, e.g., pp. 26-27); however, given the importance of stereotypes in the study of cross-cultural communication between Japan and the West (e.g., Finkelstein, Imamura, & Tobin, 1991; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994, pp. 2-3, 93-96; Mukai, 1994; Wilkinson, 1991), we should define it here. Stereotyping is "the process of ascribing characteristics to people on the basis of their group memberships" (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994, p. 1), and a stereotype is the "collection of attributes believed to define or characterize the members of a social group" (p. 1). Oakes et al. argue that "stereotypes serve to reflect the realities of group life as perceived from a particular vantage point and within a particular context" (p. 160). For example, the stereotypes of Japanese that appear in Hollywood films changed with the changing political and economic relationships between Japan and the United States: the mysterious Oriental of the 1930s, the fanatical samurai of the 1940s, the clown in kimono (1950s and 1960s), the economic animal (1970s and 1980s), the sophisticated financier (1980s), the high-tech gangster (1990s). These are stereotypes reflecting Americans' changing views of the Japanese, who did not mutate rapidly between the 1930s and the 1990s.[8]

Representing: Said's first epigraph (1978/1994, p. xiii) is a quotation from Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, "They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented" (1963, p. 124). The "they" in this case is the French peasantry who are "incapable of enforcing their class interest in their own name" so that they need a representative who is "an authority over them" (p. 124). "Representation" is also a term of aesthetics, referring to how and to what degree the visual arts and literature abstract from reality; literature itself may be called a "representation of life" (Mitchell, 1995, p. 11). Said uses this term in both its political and literary senses; for him, Orientalists (i.e., specialists on the Orient) have used their (imperialist/colonial) power over the Orient to represent it to Western readers, abstracting from the reality, representing rather than depicting the actual circumstances of the Orient (1978/1994, pp. 21-22; see also pp. 57, 60, 62-63,), so that Orientalism can be defined as "a system of representations" (pp. 202-203) that "creates the Orient, the Oriental, and his [sic] world" (p. 40).

Essentializing: Said frequently describes Orientalism as "reductive" (1978/1994, e.g., pp. 239, 297-298, 309) or "essentialist" (e.g., pp. 315, 333); these terms have technical meanings in philosophy (Bullock & Trombley, 1988, pp. 284, 730) but Said seems to mean just the act of explaining or describing complex things simplistically. Williams describes essentialism for Said as the reduction of Oriental complexities "to a shorthand of caricature and cliché" (1996, p. 142). In a discussion of "Japan bashing," Miyoshi uses "essentialism" for a case in which "a society, a culture, and a nation are all identified and defined as a pure abstract absolute that is sterilized from any interaction with other elements and forces in history" (1991, p. 72). This seems close to Said's meaning.

ESL/EFL Literature and Japan

In this section I apply the above model of Orientalist discourse to the ESL/EFL literature on Japan, specifically the materials advising foreign teachers how to teach in Japan, and the research on cross-cultural learning styles and strategies. The literature on teaching in Japan includes: 1) advice on how to find and keep a teaching job (e.g., Best, 1994; Dillon & Sower, 1996)[9]; 2) impressionistic accounts of teaching experiences (e.g., Davidson, 1993; Feiler, 1992); 3) advice on classroom management (e.g., Wadden & McGovern, 1993); and 4) studies of classroom management, learner behavior, etc. (e.g., Sasaki, 1996). Research on cross-cultural learning strategies includes both general studies that make some reference to Japanese learners and those devoted exclusively to Japanese learners. I also make reference, for purposes of comparison, to popular and academic studies of Japanese education, particularly ethnographic studies of classrooms.[10] My method has been to search the literature for clear examples of the four major characteristics of Orientalism; these examples are cited below with explanations and criticisms.[11]

Othering

The literature on teaching in Japan others Japanese learners by establishing an Orientalist polarity: positing an East vis-à-vis the West. Titles like "Classroom Cultures: East Meets West" (Cogan, 1996), "The Chrysanthemum Maze" (Kelly & Adachi, 1993), or "West vs. East: Classroom Interaction Patterns" (Rule, 1996) are examples of this. The West is seen as rational (and superior), the East as mysterious (and inferior). I offer two examples: 1) the use of Confucianism, an archetypal symbol of the Oriental Other, to "explain" aspects of Japanese classrooms; and 2) the positing of an unbridgeable difference between Japanese and Western communication.

The idea that Confucianism has a powerful influence on contemporary Japanese education is common in the literature on teaching in Japan (e.g., Sower & Johnson, 1996, p. 26). Often "Confucianism" is simply an undefined Oriental force; Esposito (1997, p. 296), for example, conflates it with Buddhism. McLean reduces Japanese universities to battlegrounds for a struggle between essentialized "Confucian and Christian philosophies" (Gorsuch, Hinkelman, McLean, Oda & Robson, 1995, p. 16); she invokes the 19th century conflict between Japanese spirit and Western knowledge (*wakon yosai*), untroubled by the historical conflict between Japanese spirit and Confucianism (see, e.g., Befu, 1997, pp. 11-13; Harootunian, 1970, pp. 24 ff., 154 ff.; 1988, pp. 186 ff.; Najita, 1991, p. 618). Stapleton (1995), finds in Confucianism the source of many aspects of Japanese education that puzzle foreign teachers: the emphasis on social hierarchy, the role of effort, an emphasis on memorization, the importance of examinations, etc. Let us examine these points, drawing on research on Confucian thought in Japan and on classroom ethnographic studies.

Concerning hierarchy, Smith (1983), an anthropologist who emphasizes the influence of Confucianism on contemporary Japan (p. 37), points out that the conception of hierarchy "was far more rigid in theory than in its practical application" (p. 48), both in premodern and contemporary Japan. Further, Dore argued that because Confucian education was "a training in principles" (1965, p. 308), it encouraged individual application of those principles rather than absolute obedience to authority. Finally, van Bremen (1992) showed that the Confucian influence in Japanese popular literature stresses heroes of the Wang Yang-ming tradition who were activists and rebels, a far cry from the image of docile students at the bottom of the Confucian hierarchy.[12]

Stapleton (1995, p. 14) sees the long Japanese school year as an example of the Confucian emphasis on effort. Leaving aside the problem that discussions of school calendars cannot be found in the Confucian classics, it is a fact that Japanese students go to school more days than do students in U. S. public schools (e.g., Rohlen, 1983, p. 160). However, Lewis (1995), looking at instructional time rather than hours spent in school or on school activities, found very little difference between Japanese and United States elementary schools (pp. 62 ff.; see also Shimahara & Sakai, 1995, pp. 142-143; 218-220); Fukuzawa (1996) found that "Japanese middle school students actually spend proportionately more time on nonacademic subjects and activities than their American counterparts" (p. 303).[13]

For Stapleton, Confucianism is the justification for rote learning and memorization in Japanese schools (1995, p. 15); he presents no evidence, hardly surprising in view of the research finding that drill was more frequent in Chicago's classrooms than in Japan's (Lee, Graham, & Stevenson, 1996, p. 177; see also Stevenson, 1989, p. 89). Aiga (1990, p. 143) points out that rote learning in Japanese language classrooms is likely to be based on the theory of habit formation, which owes more to Fries than Confucius. Finally, Confucianism is blamed for the Japanese system of evaluation by examination (Stapleton, 1995, p. 15). It is true that in the early modern period there was an examination system based on the Chinese model (Dore, 1965, pp. 85-86, 201 ff.) but it did not function like the Chinese system (Nosco, 1984, p. 25). In fact, the modern emphasis on examinations owes as much to European as to Confucian models (Frost, 1991, p. 298; for background see Amano, 1990). In short, descriptions of Japanese education as "Confucian" are misleading because the term is used without reference to the complicated history of Confucian thought in Japan (see, e.g., Bodart-Bailey, 1997), and because ethnographic data shows that many of the "facts" cited to illustrate this "Confucian" influence are simply false.

Concerning the unbridgeable difference between Japanese and Western communication, we often are told that Japanese students "have been trained to communicate in a very different way from the foreign teacher of English" (Cogan, 1995, p. 37), or that there is an "inherent conflict in the communicative styles of foreign teachers and their Japanese students" (p. 37).[14] This may be true. A large research literature argues that Japanese speech acts, communication styles and patterns, etc. differ from those of North Americans (e.g., Beebe, 1995; Clancy, 1990; Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper & Ross, 1996; Maynard, 1997; Miller, 1995; Rinnert, 1995; Yamada, 1997). However, there are two problems. The first has to do with the quality of this research. For example, Clancy (1986) uses an orthodox research methodology to study the acquisition of Japanese communicative style, but her definition of that style (pp. 213-217) is based on stereotypes about Japanese culture that Mouer and Sugimoto (1986), among others, have thoroughly debunked. Further, her starting point is the contrast of Japanese and American communicative styles (p. 213) but she is forced constantly by her data to point out that there is not so much difference between the two styles (e.g., pp. 222, 229).

A second problem is that speech acts, communication styles, discourse patterns, etc. are culture-specific, so there are differences among all people from different countries and language backgrounds, not just speakers of English and Japanese. There are even differences among people of various ages, genders, occupations, discourse communities, etc. For example, Deborah Tannen has shown convincingly that there are differences between North American male and female speech, and between New York and West Coast communication styles (1984, 1986, 1990). Problems of communication between native English speaking teachers and Japanese students may result from the fact that the teacher was brought up in the United States or Australia, but such problems might also result from age or other differences. Further, there is nothing in this unique to the Japanese situation.

Stereotyping

The typical stereotypes found in Western writing about Japanese society—group-oriented, hierarchical, harmonious—are found in the teaching-in-Japan literature (e.g., Wordell, 1993, p. 147), where they are used to "explain" the behavior of Japanese students and guide the practice of native speaker teachers.[15] This creates problems because stereotyping prevents our seeing the reality and complexity of our classrooms (see Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, pp. 20-22). Below I look at two examples, the idea of Japanese society as group-oriented, and the depiction of Japanese classrooms as hierarchical.[16]

One of the most common stereotypes of Japanese society is that it is "group-oriented" so that Japanese students behave as a group rather than individually (e.g., Bingham, 1997, p. 37; Kobayashi, 1989; O'Sullivan, 1992, p. 11; Schoolland, 1990, pp. 151 ff.; Shimazu, 1992); the proverb, "the nail that stands out gets pounded down" is offered as "proof" that Japanese value the group more than the individual (e.g., Anderson, 1993a, p. 103; Mayer, 1994, p. 15; Nozaki, 1993, p. 31; Sower & Johnson, 1996, p. 26).[17] However, Mouer & Sugimoto (1986, pp. 99-155) present empirical evidence and methodological critiques showing that the Japanese may be no more group-oriented than other peoples in the world (see also Befu, 1980a; 1980b; Kuwayama, 1992; Maher & Yashiro, 1995, p. 10). Groups certainly play an important part in Japanese society and education (e.g., Hendry, 1986; Iwama, 1989), but not necessarily at the expense of the individual (see, e.g. Kotloff, 1996, pp. 114-115; Sato, 1996, pp. 120-122, 146); Morimoto cites the "more contemporary saying" that "the nail that comes out all the way never gets hammered down," used as a slogan of the student activists who have been opposing school regulations (1996, p. 203). Kataoka (1992) shows how teachers try to develop students' independence and self-initiative (p. 98) in a process that emphasizes the development of the individual in a group context. Using Reed's (1993) idea of avoiding cultural explanations in favor of common sense, we could argue that the main reason teachers emphasize the group is that it is the most practical way to deal with the large classes typical of Japanese schools (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, p. 62; see Reed, pp. 61-62).

Groups that play an important part in Japanese classrooms are equivalent to the peer groups in the West that "also exert a powerful influence on most children's upbringing" (Duke, 1986, p. 33). Anderson (1993a) too, in an otherwise excellent article that offers sound advice based on ethnographic research, sees in Japanese groups "the reverse of the western concept of individuality" (p. 104). One of his examples is the "marathon deliberations" of university faculty meetings to achieve decisions by consensus (p. 104; see also Wordell, 1993, p. 151); this is one pattern in Japan but many readers will have experienced just the opposite, meetings where decisions are made by acclamation or fiat, and in which discussion, never mind consensus, plays little part (see, e.g., McVeigh, 1997, pp. 90, 100-101).

A second common stereotype is that Japanese society is vertical and hierarchical (e.g., Hill, 1990, pp. 84-85; Kay, 1994, p. 5) although scholars have pointed out weaknesses in this view (e.g., Bachnik, 1994a, p. 8; 1994b; Sakurai, 1974; see also Rohlen, 1983, p. 208). We are told that Japanese students "are quite unaccustomed to challenging a respected superior" (Sharp, 1990, p. 208) and that for Japanese schoolchildren "life is order and order emanates from an authority figure" who is the *sensei* (Davidson, 1993, p. 42; see also p. 36). Exponents of these views might be surprised at ethnographic research showing that in some cases Japan's classrooms are less authoritarian than those in the United States: "in mathematics and science, Japanese teachers are more likely than American teachers to encourage the expression of disagreement . . ." (Lewis, 1995, p. 174; see also Sato, 1996, pp. 138-139; Stigler, Fernandez, & Yoshida, 1996, pp. 241-243; Tsuchida & Lewis, 1996, p. 196; Whitman, 1991, pp. 165-167). Nursery school teachers make great efforts "to keep a low profile as classroom authorities" (Lewis, 1989, p. 36; see also Lewis, 1995, pp. 108 ff.; Peak, 1991, pp. 77, 186) and delegate control to children; the result is to create in the children's minds the sense of a teacher "as a benevolent, though perhaps not quite indulgent, figure" (Lewis, 1989, p. 42), a far cry from the stern Confucian disciplinarian that appears in the stereotypes.

In elementary schools, too, the routines that have given foreign observers "an impression of tight authoritarian control" might be better seen as a means of giving students responsibility, which American students cannot have because their classroom routines are so unpredictable and teacher-controlled (Tsuchida & Lewis, 1996, p. 195; see also Shimahara & Sakai, 1995, p. 75). School clubs have authoritarian aspects, but Cummings found that middle school clubs "encouraged participation, expressiveness, and cooperation, and de-emphasized competition" (1980, p. 99). White (1993/1994, p. 89) sees American secondary schools as more authoritarian and hierarchical than those in Japan. At the college level, Hadley and Hadley's (1996) results suggest that vertical relationships are not necessarily authoritarian (p. 54).

Many writers characterize Japanese classrooms as "ritual domains" in Lebra's (1976, pp. 120-131) sense (e.g., Mutch, 1995), in which "norms of interaction tend to be defined by status differences between teacher and student . . ." (Cogan, 1996, p. 106). The first problem with this is that even if it is true it is not evidence that Japan's classrooms are different from those in other countries. The second problem is that these characterizations imply that all Japanese classrooms are the same, but ethnographic research has found a vast difference between elementary school classroom behavior and that in junior and senior high schools. While secondary-level instruction often, if not always (e.g., Wardell, 1995, pp. 45-46), consists of teacher-centered lectures with limited active participation by students, elementary classrooms are "characterized by a facilitative role for teachers and considerable student-student interaction" (Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996, p. 7; see also Fukuzawa, 1996, p. 295; Lewis, 1986, pp. 196-197; 1995, pp. 113-114, 176; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, pp. 176 ff.).[18] Cummings (1980) found that primary school teachers "make significant departures from the traditional approach" (p. 125); in middle school he notes "teachers lecture more and are relatively less likely to turn over time to subgroups in the class" (p. 135), suggesting a relative rather than an absolute difference. Research on science instruction shows that class management is not so different between Japan and the United States (Jacobson & Takemura, 1992, p. 156). Finally, Okano (1993) emphasizes the differentiation among high schools in Japan; her description of a technical school class (p. 198), if not exactly *Blackboard Jungle*, is not too far from many American high school classes (see also Sands, 1995).

The literature is filled with images of Japan's silent, authoritarian classrooms; Hyland claims that "the Japanese education system does not seem to value independence nor assign creative or imaginative tasks" (1994, p. 59). First, creativity, like other social constructs, is culturally determined; Lewis (1992) finds a high degree of creativity and self-expression in Japanese schools. Further, there is an "extraordinary gap between the American media's portrayal of drill and memorization in Japanese elementary schools and the active, idea-driven learning that researchers have observed" (Lewis, 1995, p. 176; see also Lee, Graham, & Stevenson, 1996). Although Fukuzawa (1996) found that Japanese middle school classes are mostly lecture style and the instruction was "decidedly uninspiring and old-fashioned" (p. 302), Japanese teachers in the lower grades "seem to be more comfortable [than American teachers] with group discussions, mistakes, confusion, and other aspects of a discovery- oriented (or constructivist) approach" (Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996, p. 14: see also Duke, 1986, p. 160; Lewis, 1995, p. 95; Tsuchida & Lewis, 1996, pp. 210-211; White, 1987, pp. 67-68).

On the college level, teachers complain of "a wall of silence" (Helgesen, 1993) but also "disruptive talking" (Wadden & McGovern, 1993, p. 115). Helgesen's explanation is reasonable: students do not talk in English because they have not been taught to do so (p. 38) but for Wadden and McGovern, the misbehavior of Japanese students is "culturally determined" (p. 115); somehow only Japanese students whisper in class and only foreign teachers find this rude (p. 117)![19] Sasaki too finds that Japanese students "follow their cultural code of classroom conduct" (1996, p. 237), which includes "not doing homework" (p. 235); no wonder foreign teachers have trouble with this exotic species! Woodring (1997), struck with the "discrepancy between what had been read about the mythological Japanese student and what had actually been experienced with very real students in the classroom" (p. 158), used a survey instrument to examine teacher-student and student-student interaction; her results showed that her Japanese students were "surprisingly similar" to their American counterparts (p. 164), proving many of the stereotypes wrong.

Representing[20]

Japanese society is represented as homogeneous and harmonious (e.g., Sower & Johnson, 1996), although there is a good evidence for the existence of both diversity (e.g., Clammer, 1995; Creighton, 1995, p. 155; Denoon, Hudson, McCormack & Morris-Suzuki, 1996; Kawamura, 1980; MacDonald & Maher, 1995; Maher & Yashiro, 1995; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993, p. 82)[21] and conflict (Moore, 1997; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986, pp. 64-83, 106-115; see also Horio, 1988, pp. xii-xiv; Krauss, Rohlen, & Steinhoff, 1984; Najita & Koschmann, 1982). For example, in his recent survey of Japanese society, Sugimoto (1997) documents the existence of "regional, generational, occupational, and educational" diversity and stratification (p. 5), concluding that "Japan does not differ fundamentally from other countries in its internal variation and stratification" (p. 5) In education, Japan's "monocultural" classrooms have been contrasted to multicultural classrooms in the United States (e.g., Wright, 1996). This is true in one sense but ignores the evidence that in Japan "diversity is judged by different criteria" than in the U.S., so that Japanese teachers are conscious of marked diversity in their classrooms in terms of "varying regions, occupations, and social classes" (Sato & McLaughlin, 1992, p. 6). Davidson (1993) "explains" perceived problems in Japanese education by representing Japan as a machine-like culture: "English instruction reinforces the Japanese tendency toward precision, persistent and determined labor, rote memorization, and, I'm convinced, xenophobia" (1993, p. 38; see also Pennycook, 1994, p. 4).

Even fairly straightforward research can fall into Orientalism through facile representations of Japanese behavior rather than scientific explanation. For example, Robbins ends an excellent study on language learning strategies by explaining her results in terms of an unsupported representation of Japanese students as desiring "to passively absorb information provided by teachers" (Dadour & Robbins, 1996, p. 166).

Ryan (1995a), puzzled by the tendency of Japanese students to recommend less punitive sanctions for misbehavior than their Australian counterparts, "explains" this with reference to Doi's concept of *amae* although this idea has been discredited (see, e.g., Dale, 1986, pp. 121-142; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986, pp. 130-132).[22]

Kobayashi (1990, p. 25; see also 1989; 1994, p. 164) represents Japanese as illogical or creatures of intuition against logical Western reasoners.[23] Mok (1993) too represents Japanese students as lacking Western logic and critical thinking skills (pp. 157-158), glossing over the fact that the American educational system devotes vast resources to redress these problems in students who happen not to be Japanese. Kelly and Adachi (1993, pp. 156-157) represent and speak for a fictional Japanese college English teacher and Nozaki (1993, pp. 30-33) represents "typical students" just as Said finds Flaubert representing the "typically Oriental" Egyptian courtesan Kuchuk Hanem (1978/1994, pp. 6, 186 ff). Wordell and Gorsuch (1992, pp. 8-9) represent "deep-bred Japanese cultural assumptions about employer-employee relationships" in their citation of an inane satire of foreigners' employment conditions at conversation schools; Said argued that "the idea of representation is a theatrical one" (p. 63) but even he probably did not imagine that the theater would be farce!

Essentializing

In most of this literature, "Japan," the "Japanese," "Japanese education," are presented monolithically, with no sense of variety or individual differences. Walko (1995), for example, has projected his experience of some junior high schools in Kumamoto Prefecture to absolutes; according to him, all such schools in Japan have wood floors (p. 364). Even research studies with careful descriptions of the subjects often lapse into sweeping generalizations such as "in Japan, role behavior is conditioned to a strong degree" (Busch, 1982, p. 130). Kobayashi (1991) talks of Japanese students as if they were all identical products of a "maternal society." Oxford & Anderson (1995) give a good survey of research on learning styles of non-American Anglos but most of their comments about Japanese students essentialize them beyond recognition; for example, "Japanese and Korean students are often quiet, shy and reticent in language classrooms" (p. 208; see also Oxford, Hollaway, & Horton-Murillo, 1992). The same essentializing of Japanese students appears in other learning style research (e.g., Hyland, 1994; Nelson, 1995, pp. 10-12; Stebbins, 1995, pp. 110-112) although Ozeki (1996) showed that "it is difficult to generalize learning styles of Japanese students as a group" (p. 121); this is noted by Oxford and Anderson themselves (1995, pp. 209-210). Redfield and Shawback (1996) found no great differences between the Japanese and American students they studied with respect to attitudes towards language teaching and learning.

Essentialist statements are by their nature not comparative although, as Befu (1992a) points out, cultural difference is a relative matter (pp. 31-32). Statements like "competition to pass entrance examinations . . . is fierce" (Sower & Johnson, 1996, p. 26) may be true but are presented as absolutes, so we have no way of knowing that such competition may not be as "fierce" as it is in Korea and Malaysia, or even France (see Frost, 1991, p. 293).[24] Likewise, "the homogeneity of the Japanese educational system" (Greene & Hunter, 1993, p. 11) is often pointed out; this is true compared to the United States, which happens to have a decentralized educational system. But how does Japan's system compare to that of Singapore, or Turkey, or Nigeria? In other words, Japan's educational system is not essentially homogeneous, it is more or less homogeneous than those of other countries (see Ichikawa, 1986, p. 255). Further, despite the centralized control of education in Japan "in practice, Japanese teachers are actually less controlled in matters of instruction then are most of their American counterparts" (Sato & McLaughlin, 1992, pp. 5-6). Ichikawa (1986) argues that "even in Japan . . . considerable differences exist at each level of education and also among school districts and individual schools" (p. 245; see also Sugimoto, 1997, pp. 118-119); Okano (1993, p. 252) found high school teachers resisting the administration. Statements like "an important difference from Western schools, then, is that wider *societally-recognized concepts* still dominate at schools in Japan, while in the West *school-generated requirements* dominate over those from outside, which are redefined" (Reinelt, 1987, p. 8) not only essentialize Japanese schools but also reduce all schools in the West to one.

Essentializing leads to factual errors. Sower and Johnson (1996, p. 26) say that "most students from grades K-12 wear school uniforms" but this is not true of most public elementary school students (see Conduit & Conduit, 1996, p. 103) or many private secondary students. Durham & Ryan (1992) explain differences in survey results between Japanese and Australians on the grounds that most of the Australians surveyed lived off-campus, implying incorrectly that Japanese campuses are residential (p. 79). More serious, Gunterman (1985) claims that using physical force on high school students is not "taboo" (p. 131). While corporal punishment is not uncommon in Japanese schools, as Schoolland (1990) has documented in detail, Gunterman might have pointed out that in fact it happens to be against the law (Morimoto, 1996, p. 211; Schoolland, p. 56). Even such unexceptional "facts" as "Japanese civilization began with the cultivation of rice" (Sower & Johnson, 1996, p. 27) turn out to be highly debatable assertions (see, e.g., Amino, 1996; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993, pp. 30-36; for a more conservative view see Imamura, 1996, pp. 142-144, 217-219). Stapleton points out that the Japanese education system has "none of the gifted or remedial programs that are common in the West" (1995, p. 15); this may be true but fails to acknowledge that "much effort is expended [by teachers] . . . to feed extra material to the quick learners, and to give extra help to the slower learners" (Dore & Sako, 1989, p. 6).

Conclusion

The above survey shows that there is considerable Orientalism in the ESL/EFL literature on Japan. I want here to anticipate some objections that might be made to my argument and evidence. First, I do not mean to argue that there are no cultural differences among nations with respect to learning strategies, the role of the university in society, classroom management, student expectations, etc. For example, excellent work has been done on cross-cultural issues in Japanese classrooms (e.g., Ryan, 1993; 1995a; Shimizu, 1995). My quarrel is not with evidence that points out characteristics of Japanese learners or with advice that will help foreign teachers to overcome the cultural gaps they face in Japanese classrooms. My objection is rather to arguments that are based on Orientalism rather than evidence, and to advice that is grounded in assumptions, stereotypes, platitudes, and errors.

Some readers might complain that I seem to be claiming that groups do not exist in Japan despite the substantial evidence for their role in Japanese society. I have argued above not that groups do not exist in Japan but rather that the notion of Japan as a group-oriented society is not a useful explanation of Japanese behavior in general or of Japanese students' behavior in particular. Likewise, such characterizations are relative; after all, wasn't the theme of *The Lonely Crowd* (Reisman, Glazer, & Denny, 1950/1953) and *The Organization Man* (Whyte, 1957) just that the United States was a group-oriented society that discouraged individualism? Finally, as mentioned above, ethnographers like Lewis and Sato have found that school groups do not necessarily stifle individualism.

Another objection that might be made is that much of the ethnographic evidence on Japanese classrooms cited above comes from studies done in pre-school or elementary school settings, and not junior and senior high schools, which are more likely to be characterized by hierarchical relations between teachers and students, rote learning, etc. In response I can say first that much of the Orientalist literature on teaching in Japan makes no distinction between K-6 and 9-12 classes, referring instead to essentialized Japanese classrooms, students, and so on. Further, as Rohlen and LeTendre (1996) point out, "the successes of Japanese high school students . . . rest heavily on a foundation of prior teaching and socialization that had nothing to do with the cramming and rote learning associated with high school instructional processes" (p. 8); "the basic routines established in K-9 . . . make possible the subsequent, rather dramatic change in academic teaching style at the secondary level" (p. 7). In other words, I do not dispute the claim that many Japanese high school classes use "rapid-fire instruction that emphasizes facts and procedures" (Lee, Graham, & Stevenson, 1996, p. 189; see also Fukuzawa, 1996, p. 302), but insist that generalizations about grades 9-12 education in Japan will be misleading if they ignore the context of Japanese students' entire school experience. Further, we cannot focus only on classrooms to understand our students' concepts of schools and learning; Fukuzawa argues that students are not alienated from high school because "an efficient, teacher-centered approach to instruction is separated from a variety of social, emotional and moral training activities" that emphasizes the whole person (p. 317; see also Sato & McLaughlin, 1992, p. 5). Schools in Japan, as in any country, form a complex system that cannot be explained or described in simple generalizations about classroom practice or club activities in isolation.

I have attempted above to show that much of the literature under review is characterized by Orientalism. My point is not that there are occasional stereotypes or factual errors; my claim is that these fictions have been woven into a pervasive discourse that shapes our descriptions and then our perceptions of Japanese learners and classrooms. Given this, how can we overcome the authority of the Orientalist discourse to attain a better understanding of the teaching and learning situation in Japan? First, foreign teachers have the responsibility to read the literature more critically, being constantly on the lookout for the stereotyping, essentializing, etc. that I have pointed out; at the same time, foreigners must become more sensitive to the actual conditions of their teaching environments and more knowledgeable about Japanese culture, resisting the tendency to reduce Japan to an unknowable Other. Second, researchers should be more careful about accepting the results of previous research uncritically, and of course should avoid explanations based on proverbs, stereotypes of national character, or facile representations. We need many more carefully done studies of Japanese learners and classrooms, and we need more critical syntheses of previously published research.

Third, publishers and journal editors have the greatest responsibility because Orientalism is a discourse in Foucault's sense, in which, as Said explains it, a "textual attitude" is fostered when "the book (or text) acquires a greater authority and use, even than the actuality it describes" (1978/1994, p. 93). By publishing the kind of work I have criticized above, ESL/EFL publishers and journals have enhanced the authority of this discourse. It will not be easy for the journals to attain a balance between freedom of expression and a rejection of Orientalist Othering but, once aware of the problem, it should not be impossible. Said's work has taught us what we did not know about the way we see and comprehend; it is now our responsibility to rectify our perceptions of Japanese learners and classrooms.

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Bernard Susser teaches English at Doshisha Women's Junior College, Kyoto.

Notes

1. "Internationalization" (***kokusaika***) is in quotation marks because it "is a conservative policy that reflects the other side of a renewed sense of Japanese national pride, if not nationalism . . . instead of opening up Japan to the struggle of different nationalities and ethnicities, the policy of internationalization implies the opposite: the thorough domestication of the foreign and the dissemination of Japanese culture throughout the world" (Ivy, 1995, p. 3; see also p. 26; Creighton, 1995, pp. 150-155; Faure, 1995, pp. 266-267; Iwabuchi, 1994; McCormack, 1996, pp. 274 ff.; McVeigh, 1997, pp. 65 ff.; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986, pp. 171, 377-404; for different views see Dougill, 1995, and Stefásson, 1994). Wada and Cominos (1994, p. 5) claim that the real purpose of the JET Program is to teach foreigners about Japan (see also Wada & Cominos, 1995, p. viii). White (1988/1992) points out various meanings of "internationalization" in Japan (pp. 50-52, 80), emphasizing that for the Ministry of Education and the business world internationalization may be good for Japan but internationalized individuals are not, so that Japan's emphasis on "internationalization" is merely rhetorical (p. 120). Concerning returnee children (***kikoku shijo***), she rejects Goodman's (1990b) thesis that returnees are not disadvantaged (p. 126); interestingly, Goodman (1990a) reports that he "ended up taking a position almost completely opposite" to his original view (p. 163).

2. This is not to say that the Japanese studies literature is free of error or Orientalism. One example is the wide-spread belief that "the Japanese public school has been able to achieve virtual total literacy of its graduates" (Duke, 1986, p. 79); even Lewis repeats this (1992, p. 238). However, much evidence shows that many Japanese children have problems reading their own language (Burstein & Hawkins, 1992, pp. 185-186; Hatta & Hirose, 1995, pp. 231-233; Hirose & Hatta, 1988; Rohlen, 1983, p. 29; Stevenson, Lee, & Stigler, 1986, p. 233; Taylor & Taylor, 1995, pp. 351-353; Unger, 1987, pp. 83 ff.; 1996, pp. 24 ff., 124 ff.). A second example is McVeigh's (1997) ethnology of a Japanese women's junior college. Although he specifically states that his study "is about a particular women's junior college" (p. 17), he often discusses Japan's junior colleges in general (e.g., pp. 85 ff., 177) and in effect essentializes and represents all Japanese students (e.g., p. 79), not to mention characterizing English as "the language of the Other" (p. 65; see also pp. 73 ff.). Ichikawa (1986, pp. 253-256) lists several causes of error in U. S. studies on Japanese education.

3. Evans (1990; 1991) is the first to my knowledge to apply Orientalism to language teaching in Japan. Honey's (1991) response is instructive because of its assumption that a reassertion of stereotypes of Japanese learners constitutes an effective rebuttal of Evans' argument.

4. Said's concept has generated a tremendous literature; see the web pages devoted to Said at http://sun3.lib.uci.edu/indiv/scctr/Wellek/said; visited December 23, 1997. For a recent review see MacKenzie (1995, pp. xi-19). On Said's work, see Habib (1996) and Rossington (1995).

5. Said (1978/1994) refers to Japan infrequently and only in passing; his apparent reference to the Shimabara Uprising (p. 73) is, as Massarella points out, "nonsense" (1990, p. 372, note 11). Miyoshi (1993) claims that in Japan "*Orientalism* has been read principally as a part of the Middle East discourse and is viewed as having little to do with Japan or cultural understanding generally" (p. 284). On the applicability of Said's thesis to the English-language literature and scholarship on Japan, see, e.g., Befu (1992a, pp. 22-24); Dale (1996), Minear (1980), Morley and Robins (1992), Mouer (1983), Williams (1996, pp. 140-154), and the discussion on H-ASIA (March 2-11, 1996; http://h-net2.msu.edu/~asia/threads/ thrdorientalism.html; visited December 23, 1997).

6. *Nihonjinron* (see, e.g., Befu, 1992b; Dale, 1986; Kawamura, 1980; Mabuchi, 1995; Manabe, Befu, & McConnell, 1989; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1995; Yoshino, 1992) is best described as a program of disseminating "the essentialist view of 'Japaneseness' not only among the Japanese but also throughout the world, so that 'Japaneseness' would be 'properly' recognized by Others" (Iwabuchi, 1994; see also Ivy, 1995, pp. 1-2, 9). This has lead to Japan's "reverse Orientalism" (Borup, 1995; Faure, 1995; Miller, 1982, p. 209; Moeran, 1990, p. 9; Moeran & Skov, 1997, pp. 182-185; Ueno, 1997), "self-Orientalism" (Iwabuchi, 1994), or "auto-Orientalism" (Befu, 1997, p. 15), stereotyping and essentializing Japan while creating an ideal West "for purposes of self-definition" (Gluck, 1985, p. 137). Creighton (1995) argues that "Japanese renderings of *gaijin* [Caucasians] are occidentalisms that stand opposed to Japanese orientalisms about them-

selves" (p. 137), and Goodman and Miyazawa (1995) see the Japanese concept of the Jewish people as a "kind of reverse Orientalism" that "reifies a particular Japanese cultural history" (p. 13 n.). In the end, the *Nihonjinron* may be parallel to the Melanesian *kastom*, "the concern to preserve and perhaps recreate what people see as their traditional ways" (Carrier, 1995, p. 6), or perhaps to "Occidentalism," a term that Chen (1995) uses for China, "a discursive practice that, by constructing its Western Other, has allowed the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation, even after being appropriated and constructed by Western Others" (pp. 4-5). See Carrier (1992) on the relationship between "Occidentalism" and "Orientalism."

7. Foucault himself defines discourse as "the possibilities and the rules for the formation of other texts" (1979, p. 154), as "a group of rules that are immanent in a practice, and define it in its specificity" (1969/1972, p. 46), as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (p. 49), and as "a space of exteriority in which a network of distinct sites is deployed" (p. 55); see also Macdonell, 1986, pp. 82 ff.). However, I need to enter three caveats. First, Foucault states that his use of the term "discourse" varies in meaning (1969/1972, p. 80). Second, Said modifies Foucault's definition on the important point of the "determining imprint of individual writers" (1978/1994, p. 23). Third, as Bové (1995, p. 53) argues, it is impossible to ask or answer questions about the meaning of "discourse" in Foucault's sense at all because to do so "would be to contradict the logic of the structure of thought in which the term 'discourse' now has a newly powerful critical function" and "would be, in advance, hopelessly to prejudice the case against understanding the function of 'discourse'" (p. 53).

8. See Johnson (1988) for a survey of American images of Japan; she too concludes that "popular stereotypes are greatly influenced by immediate events" (pp. ix-x).

9. Perhaps Stern's (1992) complaints about foreign teachers in Japan belong in this category.

10. The literature on Japanese education in English alone is immense; Beauchamp and Rubinger's (1989) annotated bibliography lists about 1,000 items, although it is now almost a decade out-of-date.

11. Foreman-Takano (in press) finds stereotypes, essentializing, etc. in another body of literature, reading textbooks produced in Japan.

12. Bolitho (1996), in a brilliant riposte to the view of early modern Japanese society as Confucian, shows that the characteristics attributed to Japan's "Confucian" society are just those that describe pre-modern societies in general (p. 199). Nosco (1984) points out that elements of Japanese society attributed to Confucianism may have existed prior to the introduction of Chinese thought (p. 5). Gluck (1985, pp. 102 ff.) shows how many different ideologies were masked by the term "Confucian" in the planning of Meiji educational policy. Further, some historians have argued that "Confucian harmony" was a tradition invented in the Meiji period to enhance political control (see Maher & Yashiro, 1995, pp. 8-9).

13. Stevenson, however, reports that Japanese fifth graders spend twice as much time in mathematics classes as Americans (1989, p. 94; see also Stevenson, Stigler, & Lee, 1986, pp. 208-210; Stevenson & Lee, 1990, pp. 30-31). Ryan (1995b, p. 71) states that Japanese teachers spend about the same number of classroom hours as their British counterparts teaching their subject matter.

14. The same point is made of classroom behaviors and expectations; see, e.g., Greene and Hunter (1993) and Ryan (1995a, 1996). For research on what Japanese students expect from foreign teachers, see Durham and Ryan (1992), Fensler (1988), and Redfield (1995).

15. Note Finkelstein's (1991, p. 138) critique of the U. S. Department of Education's study *Japanese Education Today* (1987, esp. pp. 2-4) as perpetuating these stereotypes (see also Horio, 1988, p. xiii).

16. Inevitably this literature stereotypes the West as well, as Said claims: "the Oriental becomes more Oriental, the Westerner more Western" (1978/1994, p. 46). Wordell cites Yoshida/Mizuta's reductionist summaries of Americans and Japanese (1985, p. 12, 1993, p. 147).

17. Mouer and Sugimoto (1986) point out that a proverb is not evidence of anything because 1) "like many languages, Japanese contains numerous pairs of opposites" (p. 135); here they suggest "lone wolf" (*ippiki okami*) (p. 135); 2) all proverbs do not have the same degree of currency; and 3) they can often be interpreted in different ways so that there is no agreement on meaning (p. 151). In another example of proof by proverb, Williams (1994) explains that Japanese students are silent because of a cultural tendency toward a reflective personality (p. 10); as proof, he cites a Japanese proverb meaning that mouths are to eat with, not speak with. By this argument, a culture with the proverb "silence is golden" has the same cultural tendency. Klopf (1995) quotes ten proverbs that "suggest that speaking is the root of all evil" (p. 171) and concludes flatly: "The desire not to speak is the most significant feature of Japanese language life" (p. 171)! Lebra (1987) gives a balanced study of the role of silence in Japanese communication, but even she is not above citing the same proverbs (p. 348). A quick glance at Buchanan's (1965) compilation of Japanese proverbs shows not only that English has ready equivalents for many of these (e.g., p. 75) but also that Japanese has proverbs praising eloquence (e.g., p. 75).

18. Anderson's recent research (1993b, in press) shows that "the Japanese teacher appears to be not so much a conversation partner as a facilitator of student interaction" (1993b, p. 87); he argues that the students are engaged in "group consensus building" (p. 87) but an alternative reading of the data he presents suggests that students are expressing themselves individually.

19. To add to the confusion, Miyanaga argues that "to the Japanese, to be quiet and to listen is active, not passive" (1991, p. 96), while for McVeigh, students' quiescence results from their encounter with the "Other" (1997, p. 79) or from bullying to maintain social harmony (pp. 180 ff.).

20. Parallel in a sense to Japan's "self-Orientalism" mentioned above is a kind of "self" representation, —described humorously by Stewart (1985) as "an especially virulent disease" (p. 89).

21. In contrast, Lewis (1995, pp. 172-175) points to a lack of diversity in classrooms.

22. Japanese are not the only ones to be represented. Durham & Ryan (1992) argue that Australians, as compared to Japanese, "value a certain degree of uniformity" because of their "convict heritage" (p. 78).

23. Honey (1991, p. 45) cites Kobayashi (1990), claiming that because she is Japanese, her conclusions are correct. I would argue that the works by Japanese nationals that I criticize as Orientalist are similar to what Pratt (1992) calls "autoethnographic expression": "instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms" (p. 7).

24. Grove (1996) shows that critical statements made about entrance tests for Japanese schools often reflect prejudices and ignorance of the situation in Japan. In addition, both popular and academic studies of Japanese education emphasize the influence of the entrance tests; Shimahara (1979), for example, sees Japan as a "group-oriented society" and the entrance tests as "a powerful means employed by this [Japanese] society to determine individual group membership" (p. 93). Unfortunately for his theory, "most Japanese students have little to do with the widely publicized 'examination hell'" (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 10; see also Ichikawa, 1986, p. 250).

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Point to Point

A Reaction to MacGregor's "The *Eiken* Test: An Investigation"

Nigel Henry
International Masters Academy, Okayama

This paper represents a critique of the *Eiken* test investigation by Laura MacGregor (Volume 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 24-42). MacGregor provides detailed background information on the *Eiken* test explaining its origins, importance, and contents. In order to investigate what kind of test the *Eiken* is, explanations of the purpose and goals of the two types of tests used in language teaching, criterion-referenced tests (CRTs) and norm-referenced tests (NRTs), are given. Through evidence found in the nature of the *Eiken* test, it is correctly judged to be a hybrid CRT/NRT. However, there are a number of difficulties with her methodology which call into question her conclusions. Discussions that follow will be limited due to word restrictions.

The test used in this study is the pre-second level test, originally developed for second and third year high school students (16- and 17-year-olds). In this study, however, the test subjects were 182 first year junior college students (aged 18 to 20). Because this study was not aimed at the correct target population, the results cannot be compared with those provided by STEP or even utilized in a valid analysis of the test. If a test was developed for a certain group, investigating its validity and reliability should be done using the target group.

The reliability of the test was measured using both descriptive and item statistics. Descriptive statistics revealed that the test performed like a true NRT, though since the author classifies the test as a hybrid CRT/NRT it seems strange to apply purely NRT standards when analysing the results. Item statistics, according to guidelines set out in Brown regarding items on an NRT (1996, p. 69), showed that 60% of the test items needed refinement or improvement. As above, MacGregor failed to either defend her use of NRT standards or present an alternative system for the analysis of the items. Four general questions were posed to help determine the validity of the test. Answers revealed that:

1) The items were suitable for senior high school students.
2) Two items were found to be invalid where content validity was concerned.

The argument against one of the items is presented using anecdotal rather than empirical evidence. It is also difficult to determine which items the author was referring to since items and sections were not clearly and consistently outlined from the beginning.

3) STEP claimed successful examinees are able to converse, read and write about everyday topics.

MacGregor challenges this, stating that *Eiken* only tests reading and listening skills. However, neither provides evidence to support their claims.

4) There were some poorly constructed items on the test.

However, there is some incongruity as to the problems with items. For example, the first example MacGregor (1997, p. 38) presents is not necessarily problematic because of the structures but, instead, because of the length of the distracters. Though poorly constructed items were found, investigations into their nature were subjective rather than methodical, systematic, and empirical. A framework by which items might be analyzed less subjectively might, for example, be based on Chapter 4 of Henning (1987).

The results of the examination of scoring revealed that passing percentages were actually much lower than those stated by STEP. This again suggests that the test group employed by MacGregor was not representative of the STEP population.

The above discussion has examined the relevance and usefulness of this investigation into the *Eiken* test. It found that though the investigation took on some detail and identified strong and weak areas within the test, it failed to determine the validity and reliability of the test adequately and accurately. A more thorough investigation, using more appropriate tools for measuring and analyzing test components, is clearly required.

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The Author Responds: A Brief Clarification

Laura MacGregor
Sapporo International University

Nigel Henry presents some valid concerns about the test subjects, reliability measures, and validity findings in his critique of "The *Eiken* Test: An Investigation" (MacGregor, 1997). I will address them briefly here and attempt to clarify my purpose.

First, Henry correctly pointed out that the subjects for my study were older than the group the test was originally developed for. E*ikyo* stated that the pre-second level test was for high school level students; however, it also stated that it was "appropriate for a wide range of ages, from high school students to adults in Japan" (Nihon Eigo Kentei Kyokai, 1994, p. 8). In my paper, I reported that the majority of the pre-second level test-takers in June 1996 were high school students (227,666 or 75%). However, this number represents only 38.2% of the high school students who took the *Eiken* test during that test administration (.11% took the first level, .88% took the pre-first level, 16.8% took the second level, 37.1% took the third level, 6.3% took the fourth level, and .55% took the fifth level) (Nihon Eigo Kentei Kyokai, 1996, p. 11). Therefore, there is a disparity between *Eikyo's* ideal level of difficulty and the reality of the test-taking population. Following the above trend, I attempted to reflect the reality of the student population at my college, the subjects used in my study. The results of my student survey showed that, based on their test-taking experience, the pre-second level was the best choice (MacGregor, 1997, p. 28).

Second, Henry questioned my choice of reliability measures and implied that there should be CRT (criterion-referenced test) standards as well as the NRT (norm-referenced test) standards presented. This, however, would be impossible, because test reliability is based on test scores, and the *Eiken* test is scored as an NRT (i.e., it converts raw test scores to standardized scores) not as a CRT (in which test scores are interpreted as absolute).

Where test scores are concerned, NRTs and CRTs are completely different: NRTs aim to spread test scores over a wide continuum, and thus have a normal distribution and a high standard deviation. CRTs, on the other hand, aim to produce test results which have little variance, that is to say, a low standard deviation. Since the *Eiken* test is administered to test-takers with wide ranging abilities and levels (high school, junior college, university, and post-university adults) and the relative scores follow a normal distribution pattern, it must be treated as an NRT, at least from a scoring point of view. To apply CRT reliability criteria would therefore be incorrect.

Henry's final area of inquiry questioned my validity study. He noted that *my discussion of poorly constructed items was* subjective, not empirical. It was my understanding that test validity *was* largely judgmental (Brown, 1996, pp. 231-239), and, therefore, I based my findings on a combination of the facts at hand: the aims of the test (as stated by *Eikyo*), current usage (Swan, 1995), and interpretations of the language as a native speaker of English.

Although the study has some shortcomings, I hope it will serve a larger purpose of alerting the people at *Eikyo* that there is some dissatisfaction with their public relations services and will encourage them to provide more information in the form of regular reports on the research and development of the *Eiken* tests.

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A Reaction to Ito's "Japanese EFL Learners' Test-Type Related Interlanguage Variability"

Takao Imai
Aichi Mizuho College

The article by Akihiro Ito (Volume 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 89-105) reported on a survey as to the effect of different three test-types—Cloze Procedure, Grammaticality Judgment, and Sentence Combining—on the accuracy rates in interlanguage performance of Japanese EFL learners and examined the reliability and validity of the Grammatical Judgment test. He concluded: 1) the accuracy rate changes according to the expected order-Cloze Procedure > Grammaticality Judgment > Sentence Combining; and 2) unexpectedly, the Grammaticality Judgment test had fairly high reliability, showing moderate correlation with the other two test-types; however, since its discriminative ability seems limited, it should be used with extreme care (p. 98).

As Matsukawa (1987) says, any test serves as a "hidden curriculum" and has much influence on the way students learn English as well as the way teachers teach English. In Japan, entrance examinations serve as the hidden curriculum, especially at the senior high school level. I think the primary reason for this is that most students learn English (especially reading, writing, and grammar) in order to pass the entrance examinations for senior high schools or universities. If English were taught as a second language, entrance examinations would not serve as a hidden curriculum. It is not an exaggeration to say that the types of tests universities give determine what the students learn and how they learn English. Nowadays, test types given by universities are changing, but, many poorly designed tests still exist. In order to better English education in Japan, we have to improve the quality of test types used in entrance examinations. The most fundamental thing in test design is for tests to have a positive backwash. Ito's research may aid in this. However, I would like to raise the following concerns.

First, according to the study's results, the accuracy rate changes according to the expected order (Cloze Procedure > Grammaticality Judgment > Sentence Combining). This means, I think, that the higher accuracy rate a test type shows the easier the task. In relation to this, I'd like to ask: 1) What happened to the relative order of each subject? If the purpose to give a test is to know the relative order of each student, as in entrance examinations, change in each test's accuracy rate doesn't matter unless the relative order for each student changes. 2) How can these results be applied to English language teaching?

Second, it is often said that showing students incorrect sentences is not educational. This is because incorrect sentences in the test can serve as intake for students, as all tests can also be i+1 input (Krashen, 1985). However high the reliability of the Grammaticality Judgment test is, I think this type of test should be avoided. What is the justification for using incorrect sentences within a test?

Third, in the last part of the article (p. 99), the author posed three general research questions, and in question number one said he planned to reexamine the data to investigate the effects of proficiency level on accuracy rates in participants' inter-language performance based on the results of a multiple choice test. If this analysis is done, please report the results.

The number of English teachers who have an interest in language testing is increasing. However, in reality, there seem to be few reliable test methods available to measure learners' real English ability. Accordingly, I hope researchers will design valid and reliable language test methods as rapidly as possible.

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The Author Responds: More on Test-Types

Akihiro Ito
Hiroshima University

A few *JALT Journal* readers of my article "Japanese EFL learners' test-type related interlanguage variability" (Volume 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 89-105) have raised questions. One, Takao Imai, has made his opinions public.

Let me begin with the issue of the relative order of the participants. The results of rank order correlations between the tests showed moderate to relatively high correlation between each pair of the three tests. Spearman's rank order correlation coefficients (rs) among the three tests[1] ($N = 41$) are: 1) CP–GJ, $rs = 0.571$, $p < 0.001$; 2) CP–SC, $rs = 0.702$, $p < 0.001$; and 3) GJ–SC, $rs = 0.734$, $p < 0.001$. I cannot conclude that the correlation coefficients were high enough to ignore the variability of test scores manifested by the difference of test-types. Even though the relative orders were moderate to high, the orders were not totally in accordance. If the purpose of a placement test is to determine only the relative order of our students, we can accept the correlation coefficients as sufficiently high. In my study I did not discuss the purpose of the relative clause tests. I think that people can use the tests according to their needs such as placement, achievement, proficiency, or diagnosis.

Second, I think it's common to assert that grammaticality judgment tests are effective for measuring subjects' linguistic intuition and metalinguistic knowledge if the test requires correction of grammatical errors. Like Imai, I think it's possible for subjects to take in ungrammatical sentences. However, as I explained (Ito, 1997a, pp. 94-95), after reviewing recent articles on the acquisition of relative clauses, I selected "typical errors in relative clause formation." Therefore, I would like to think that some students might raise their grammatical awareness in comprehending and forming sentences with relative clauses. However, I have found one problem with the use of the Grammaticality Judgment test. In Ito (1997b), I describe how higher level learners performed better in Sentence Combining than Grammaticality Judgment, possibly due to *hypercorrection*.

Third, I have re-examined the data of the participants' overall English language proficiency (Ito, 1996). In this study, I measured subjects' overall

English proficiency level through the 50-item multiple-choice cloze test used in Shimizu (1991), administered to the participants a week before the research reported in *JALT Journal* (Ito, 1997a) was conducted. According to the results, as the proficiency level increases, the magnitude of variability is smaller because subjects at a higher level mark high accuracy rates in every test-type. In this regard, the Ohba's (1994) hypothesis, which I reviewed (Ito, 1997a), seems reasonable.[2]

Finally, while I would like to undertake a discussion of the validity of the test types, this is beyond both the scope of the questions raised and the space available to comment.

As a concluding remark, I would again like to emphasize the importance of research on test-type related interlanguage variability. We should pay attention not only to the variability of interlanguage performance but also the quality of tests utilized in order to: 1) evaluate our students more accurately in an educational evaluation sense; 2) construct more reliable and valid language tests in a language testing sense, and 3) to improve second language acquisition research methodology.

Notes

1. CP: Cloze Procedure, GJ: Grammaticality Judgment, and SC: Sentence Combining.

2. Off-prints of the article in *CeLeS Bulletin, 26* (Ito, 1996) and copies of a yet unplublished replicative study with a larger number of participants under more controlled conditions (Tests as a second language research method: Their types, reliability, validity, and variable research results) are available on request. E-mail: akito@ipc.hiroshima-u.ac.jp

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Research Forum

Conversational Turn-taking Behaviors of Japanese and Americans in Small Groups

Michael T. Hazel
Kagoshima Immaculate Heart College

Joe Ayres
Washington State University

This study examined conversational turn-taking behaviors between Japanese and American participants in small groups. Because of cultural differences, it was hypothesized that Americans would employ self-select turn-taking procedures proportionately more often than Japanese and that Japanese would employ other-select turn-taking procedures proportionately more often than Americans. These expectations were tested in eight groups; two comprised all Japanese participants, two comprised all American participants and four comprised an equal number of Japanese and American participants. Each group contained four members. Results supported the expectations outlined above in the culturally uniform groups. However, in the culturally diverse groups, Japanese and Americans did not differ in the proportions of self and other select turn-taking behaviors. In these groups, though, the Americans took significantly more turns than did the Japanese.

本研究は、小人数グループにおける日本人とアメリカ人の会話の順交替 (turn-taking) を分析した研究である。文化的相違を根拠にし、「アメリカ人は日本人と比較しより頻繁に自己決定に基づいた順交替を行い、日本人はより頻繁に他者決定に基づいた順交替を行う」との仮説を立て、検証を行った。被験者は各4名からなる次の8グループである。日本人のみからなる2グループ、アメリカ人のみからなる2グループ、日本人とアメリカ人各2名からなる4グループ。結果、日本人またはアメリカ人のみからなるグループの比較で仮説は検証されたが、混合グループにおいては、自己決定：他者決定の比率は日本人とアメリカ人との間に差が認められなかった。ただし混合グループにおいては、アメリカ人がより多くの発話行為を行った。

Intercultural exchanges are becoming more and more common as a world economy emerges, and this globalization has brought with it an increasing presence of international students on campuses in many North American universities (Zikopoulos, 1990). However, many instructors, having had limited exposure to students from different cultural backgrounds, lack the cultural knowledge necessary to understand their foreign students' communication patterns and, in turn, have little idea of how to respond to the needs of these students.

Because theories of intercultural communication involve a myriad of concepts, investigation into such communication processes might run the gamut from broad macroscopic studies (Kim, 1991), to microscopic studies that examine one aspect of one of these concepts. Zimmerman (1995), at a macroscopic level of analysis, reported that the intercultural communication competence of international students at one university was related to their being satisfied with their interaction skills but that "talking with American students was the single most important factor in perceptions of communication competence and adjusting to American life" (p. 321). This finding suggests that the nature of interaction between American and international students is of critical importance for foreign students' perceived communication competence and successful cultural adaptation.

Given the relationship between enculturation and verbal communication (Samovar & Porter, 1991), differences in conversational patterns may inhibit effective communication and lead to misunderstandings. Kitao (1993), examined Japanese students in an ESL classroom setting to determine sources of communication problems they faced. She reported that hindrances to "sociolinguistic competence" included "transfer of sociocultural patterns from Japanese to English" (p. 148). This study exemplified an approach midway between the macroscopic and microscropic.

Believing that microscopic examination of one aspect of verbal communication should further serve to demonstrate the significance of cultural differences and their effect on the communication process, we examined turn-taking behaviors between Japanese and American students because turn-taking is a fundamental aspect of face to face encounters (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1978). If people engaged in conversation cannot coordinate their turn-taking, they will be unable to communicate effectively. At the same time, we felt turn-taking might be influenced by cultural expectations in predictable ways, but that such predictions would vary depending upon the cultural background of the students involved (Klopf, in press). That is, students from some cultures, such as Japan, might expect others to invite them to participate in a conversation while students from other cultures, such as Canada, might simply expect to take part without waiting for an "invitation." Prior research into the turn-taking process has shown that cultural influences affect turn-taking patterns in conversations. Shimura (1988) as noted by Johnson (1995) demonstrated that Japanese ESL learners take fewer turns in conversation than other Asians. To further evaluate the relationship between culture and conversational styles, we examined turn-taking processes in Japanese, Americans, and mixed groups of Americans and Japanese.

Communicative patterns of Japanese and Americans suggests differences in conversational styles. For instance, Barnlund (1975) compared Japanese and American verbal and nonverbal self-disclosure and concluded: "The communicative consequences of cultural emphasis upon talkativeness and self-assertion among Americans may cultivate a highly self-oriented person, one who prizes and expresses every inner response no matter how trivial or fleeting." Of Japanese people he says, "The communicative consequences of cultural encouragement of reserve and caution among Japanese may produce an other-oriented person, who is highly sensitive and receptive to meanings in others" (p. 160). Such norms and rules influence how people form and process messages (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988) and will also affect conversational styles.

According to Okabe (1983), "The cultural assumptions of interdependence and harmony require that Japanese speakers limit themselves to implicit and even ambiguous use of words" (p. 36). Ishii and Bruneau (1994) note that "Japanese people are oriented to nonverbal intuitive communication while Americans want to emphasize individualism and self-assertion" (p. 249).

In addition, Ishii and Bruneau (1994) cite significant differences between American and Japanese views of silence. They state, "The Western tradition is relatively negative in its attitude toward silence and ambiguity, especially in social and public relations" (p. 247). This somewhat negative orientation may lead to Americans feeling uncomfortable when there is silence in conversation. Japanese, on the other hand, highly regard silence. Ishii and Bruneau (1994) report, "It may be safely said that Japanese culture nurtures silence, reserve, and formality, whereas Western cultures place more value on speech, self-assertion, and informality" (p. 248). Furthermore, these differences are also clearly reflected in the education systems of the respective cultures. American students are encouraged and rewarded for being outgoing and expressive in the classroom. Japanese, on the other hand, come from an education system that discourages this type of behavior. Starting with junior high school, most Japanese classrooms do not have the interactive relationship between students and teachers that is the norm in North America. In most cases, the teachers instruct, and the students sit quietly and attempt to absorb the information. These orientations may very well lead to variations in turn-taking patterns.

Specifically, Americans may employ relatively more self-select turn-taking procedures in conversation, while the Japanese may employ relatively more other-select procedures. It would be expected that Japanese would use "other-select" turn-taking procedures more whether in all-Japanese groups or in mixed Japanese/American groups. On the other hand, Americans would be expected to employ more self-select turn-taking procedures in solely American groups or in mixed American/Japanese groups.

The Study

Method

Verbal interaction among participants in conversations obviously involves turn-taking behaviors. A current framework among conversation analysts for studying turn-taking behaviors was developed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1978). In this normative system, turns consist of different types of "Turn Construction Units," which can be identified as: words, phrases, clauses, and sentences.

Participants use these units for building turns. "Turns can be projectedly [sic] one word long, or for example, they can be sentential in length" (Sacks, et al., 1978). A potential end to a turn is labeled as a "Transition Relevance Place" or TRP.

There are three ways to determine who the next speaker can properly be. The Speaker Selection Practices are:

1. Current Speaker Selects Next—at any time before the first TRP, the current speaker may select someone else to be the speaker by a question or other direction.
2. Listener Self-Selects—at the first TRP, if the current speaker hasn't selected another, any listener may self-select by beginning to speak.
3. Current Speaker Continues—at the first TRP, if neither of the above-mentioned selection processes has been used, the current speaker may take another turn.

These three practices follow the above listed priority order and continue to apply at the subsequent TRPs (Sacks, et al., 1978). Procedures two and three in the above list are "self-select" procedures, while item one is an "other-select" procedure. The verbal and non-verbal cues associated with these procedures were identified by Wiemann and Knapp (1975). For instance, turn yielding cues of note were "completions" (finishing a declarative statement with no attempt to continue), questions, and "buffers" (short words or phrases which are 'content free' like "um" or "uh"). The procedures employed for coding "self and other" select behaviors are detailed in the data coding section of this report.

Subjects: Sixteen undergraduate students (eight Americans and eight Japanese) enrolled in a mid-sized western U.S. university all volunteered to participate in this study. The American sample consisted of f[illegible]les and four females, as did the Japanese sample. All American participants were born and raised in the United States. The Japanese participants were born and raised in Japan but had been studying in the United States for various periods of time. All sessions were conducted using the English language.

Data Collection: Data were collected from eight small groups according to the following procedures. Two groups were comprised of all Japanese students, two groups were comprised of all American students, and four groups contained two Japanese and two American students. Each group was asked to have a ten minute conversation about a specific topic (e.g., what they would do if they won ten million dollars in a lottery.)

With the permission of the participants, all interactions were videotaped. The researcher turned on the videotape recorder, left, and returned in precisely ten minutes. Participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Data Coding: Two coders, one of the authors (an American) and a Japanese coder, analyzed the data tapes with regard to the "self-select" and "other-select" turn-taking behaviors of all participants. The researcher oriented the other coder to observe, identify, and record self-selecting and other-selecting behaviors of the participants. In order to minimize potential coding bias, this second coder was not aware of the hypotheses. Coding was accomplished by observing the videotaped data, identifying self- or other-selecting cues, and recording observations. The observations were operationalized according to the following criteria: a) identifying which speaker engaged in self- or other-select behavior, b) indicating whether the observed behavior was self- or other-select, and c) noting when the utterance occurred by recording the first word of the turn in which the behavior occurred. (This enabled the data to be unitized.) One-eighth of the data set was double coded in order to determine inter-rater reliability. Inter-rater reliability achieved the .93 level (Holsti, 1973). For the double-coded data, the native rater's observations were used in the analyses.

Analyses: A series of *t* tests were used to test the hypotheses advanced in this investigation. The independent variable in these tests was nationality (Japanese or American); the dependent variable was turn-taking behavior (either self-select or other-select). Raw data were converted to proportions prior to analysis (i.e., the numbers of self-selects and other-selects for each subject were divided by the total number of turns to form proportions).

Results

The first analysis involved testing whether Americans in their in-groups would self-select proportionately more often than Japanese conversing in their in-groups. A significant effect for nationality on self-selecting behaviors (t 14 = 6.66, $p < .05$, $r2 = .32$) was found. The mean proportions of self-select were .84 for the American participants (SD = .24) and .60 for the Japanese (SD = .24) As expected, the Americans used self-select turn-taking behavior proportionately more often. A significant main effect was also found for nationality on proportional other-selecting behaviors (t 14 = 6.66, $p < .05$, $r2 = .32$). The Americans used other-select behaviors (M = .16, SD = .1) proportionately less than the Japanese (M = .40, SD = .24).

The second analysis examined whether the American participants would employ relatively more self-select procedures in mixed groups than the Japanese with the reverse pattern being in evidence for the other-select procedures. This pattern did not emerge (t 14 = .69). The Americans self-selected 77% of the time in the mixed groups while the Japanese self-selected 76% of the time in these groups. The most significant aspect of these groups was the turn dominance by the Americans. Of the 256 turns recorded in these groups, Americans took 213 (83%).

Discussion

As anticipated, this study found that Japanese and Americans use different turn-taking mechanisms. Specifically, Americans self-select proportionately more than Japanese while the Japanese use more other-select procedures than do Americans in culturally uniform groups. It appears that cultural background contributes to these patterns. As noted earlier, mainstream American culture reinforces the importance of individualism and freedom of expression, while Japanese communication norms are designed to maintain harmony and avoid conflict. These differences could account for Japanese tendencies to other-select proportionately more often than Americans in conversations. The pattern may not hold true for other international students (e.g. Germans). Research into the turn-taking mechanisms in operation with regard to students from a variety of countries and cultures would seem warranted (as would research into other conversational skills).

The results obtained in culturally diverse groups did not conform to expectations. Here, Japanese and Americans did not differ from one another in their self- and other-select tendencies. The most striking finding in the culturally diverse groups is that Americans took the vast majority of the turns (83%). Perhaps the Japanese tendency to prefer "other" selection procedures kept them from participating more freely in these conversations. The dynamic appears to be straightforward: Americans expect others to take a turn when an opportunity appears and have an aversion to silence. Japanese, on the other hand, tend to expect to be invited to participate in the conversation and see silence as perfectly acceptable. Americans rush to fill the "gap" more often than not with self-selecting behaviors. Thus, Americans dominated exchanges in these small groups.

There are, of course, a number of limitations to this investigation that require acknowledgment. First, this study was videotaped in a controlled environment which may have affected subjects' behavior. Although videotaping may distort behavior, Wiemann (1981) found that behaviors usually out of conscious awareness are not affected by observation procedures. Since these subjects were not aware that turn-taking was being examined, the presence of a video camera may not have significantly affected the results.

Another limitation is fluency in the oral use of the English language. Although the Japanese subjects, enrolled as undergraduates at an American university, should have had a good command of English, the fact that they weren't native speakers may have limited their participation. That is, their turn-taking behaviors might have been significantly different had they engaged in conversational Japanese.

It would be interesting to discover how the results would vary if conversations across all groups were carried out in Japanese rather than English. Conducting a similar study using American subjects who had acquired conversational fluency in Japanese would be useful for determining the effects of linguistic fluency on turn-taking patterns. The cultural adaptations of Japanese participants studying in the U.S. may well have affected the generalizability of these data. Japanese living in America for any length of time may be socialized into adopting American patterns of communication. If this is the case, then Japanese participants in the United States may not accurately reflect the greater population in Japan.

Another potentially informative study would therefore be to measure how cultural adaptation may affect turn-taking differences between Japanese and Americans. An instrument designed to determine the degree of cultural adaptation of subjects would be useful for further understanding the effect of culture on turn-taking behaviors. If subjects indicating high degrees of cultural adaptation to an out-culture displayed turn-taking behaviors similar to members of that culture, then the assertion that culture affects turn-taking would be strengthened.

Yet another limitation is the small sample size. Since the way we take and yield conversational turns is generally outside our awareness, a small sample ought to reflect turn-taking procedures from the larger group, hence the data patterns in evidence here should hold in a larger sample. Nonetheless, the generalizability of these findings should be verified using a larger number of participants from diverse backgrounds from both cultures.

Assuming the present data patterns obtained here are an accurate reflection of turn-taking behavior, these data have direct implications for participation-oriented classrooms involving Japanese students. Japanese students are likely to be silent unless they are invited to participate. In small group assignments, they are likely to let others participate, though from their perspective they are contributing to the facilitation of discussion by remaining silent. Teachers and students should be aware of these tendencies, not necessarily to change them but to understand and appreciate their significance.

It is difficult to say whether this pattern extends to other international students. Anecdotal evidence suggests that such behavior is not uncommon among Asian students. Certainly research ought to examine conversational practices of various international students. A database of this nature will enable us to more readily serve the needs of this segment of the student population. It will also provide us a foundation to construct and test theories of intercultural communication.

Michael T. Hazel is a lecturer at Kagoshima Immaculate Heart College.

Joe Ayres is a professor in the School of Communication at Washington State University.

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The Need to Teach Communication Strategies in the Foreign Language Classroom

George Russell
Kyushu Institute of Technology, Kitakyushu

Lester Loschky
Nanzan University, Nagoya

In this article we argue for the need for instruction in lexical communication strategies in foreign language classes. After comparing opposing views on communication strategies and instruction, we recommend instruction in second-language-based lexical communication strategies ("recommended strategies") for students who do not use them. We then report a study about the manner in which our first year Japanese university students of English as a foreign language conceptualized their communicative options in two situations in which they lacked specific vocabulary. Since results suggest that many of our students think of using first-language-based or non-linguistic strategies, we argue that these students would benefit from instruction in the use of second-language-based strategies.

本論文では、外国語授業において語彙のコミュニケーション・ストラテジーを教える有効性・必要性を論じる。まずコミュニケーション・ストラテジーと教授法について、対立するこれまでの見解を比較・検討した後、「第２言語に基づく語彙のコミュニケーション・ストラテジー」を教授すべきとの議論を展開する。大学１回生である日本人英語学習者を被験者にし、未習得の英単語に直面する２つの状況を与え、それぞれの状況において被験者がどのようなコミュニケーションの方法を用いたかを分析した。結果、被験者の多くが、第２言語語彙に基づくストラテジーではなく、第１言語を利用したストラテジーや非言語的ストラテジーの利用を考えていることが判明した。この結果を基に、第２言語に基づく語彙のコミュニケーション・ストラテジーを教授することが、円滑なコミュニケーション能力の習得に有効であることを議論する。

Considering the issue of instruction in communication strategies from our perspective as teachers of English as a foreign language to Japanese university students, we assessed our students' need for such instruction by asking several classes what they would do in two target-language communication situations in which they lacked

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specific English vocabulary items. Below, we explain the rationale for our study by examining research on second language (L2) communication strategies and their instruction. Then we report how our students responded to the two situations and give our interpretation.

What are Communication Strategies?

The concept of "communication strategies" (CS) reflects the idea of communicative competence proposed by Canale and Swain (1980), who viewed it as comprised of three specific types: grammatical, sociolinguistic, and strategic. Strategic competence is the ability of a speaker to manage a breakdown in communication. In L2 production, our focus here, strategic competence has been considered largely a matter of a speaker's ability to use CS (Swain, 1984, p. 189). Nonetheless, defining CS has been problematic. Numerous papers have offered definitions (see, particularly, Bialystok, 1983; Faerch & Kasper, 1983; Poulisse, Bongaerts, & Kellerman, 1984; Tarone, 1977; Tarone, 1983). Faerch and Kasper noted that all previous definitions contained two key elements: consciousness and problem-solving. However, they also noted that CS could include production plans that were not necessarily conscious, and finally hedged by describing CS as "potentially conscious" (p. 31). Questions as to the necessity of both consciousness and problem-solving in CS were raised by Bialystok (1990). Nevertheless, we concur with Poulisse (1990), whose definition of CS (like Faerch & Kasper's) includes two key features: 1) speech planning difficulties, and 2) some speaker awareness of those difficulties. Regarding the first feature, it is clear that CS are useful when there are breakdowns in communication, and therefore speech planning difficulties are at least a sufficient condition for the occurrence of CS. Second, by "awareness" we mean, specifically, that the speaker is attending to his/her speech production. The degree of attention to a mental process is closely related to both its degree of automaticity and to task difficulty (Shiffrin & Schneider, 1977; Cohen, Dunbar, & McClelland, 1990; Posner, 1994). L2 learners who have not automatized speech in the target language must use controlled attentive processes (McLaughlin, Rossman, & McLeod, 1983) and when difficulties arise, such as the inability to retrieve a needed lexical item, L2 learners are forced to pay even more attention. Thus, while attention is not necessary for the occurrence of CS, the probability of attending to CS production is extremely high for L2 learners.

Should CS Be Taught?

The Case Against Teaching CS

It is agreed that CS help speakers to communicate, but there is contention concerning the teaching of strategies to second or foreign language learners. The case against instruction is espoused by Kellerman and colleagues at Nijmegen University in the Netherlands, particularly in the Nijmegen Project (see Bongaerts & Poulisse, 1989; Poulisse, 1987; Poulisse, 1990; Poulisse, et al., 1984; Poulisse & Schils, 1989). The Nijmegen studies claim to show that the general cognitive processes involved in both native language (L1) and L2 CS are identical. Since the processes are the same, CS use is fundamentally the same whichever language is used. Thus, there is no need to teach CS in an L2 classroom. Kellerman (1991) concludes, "teach the learners more language, and let the strategies look after themselves" (p. 158).

Kellerman (1991) even implies that strategy use interferes with vocabulary learning, quoting an anecdote (from Faerch & Kasper, 1986) in which a teacher said his students could paraphrase to compensate for unknown words but still needed to learn vocabulary. However, there is no hard evidence of a negative relationship between CS use and L2 acquisition.

The Case For Teaching CS

There is a movement supporting the teaching of learning strategies to L2 learners (see Oxford, Lavine, & Crookall, 1989). The authors' typology of learning strategies includes a category termed "compensation strategies" (Oxford, et al., 1989), seemingly influenced by Tarone's (1977) early CS typology. The authors claim that teachers should teach, explicitly, not only learning strategies, including compensation strategies, but also how to transfer these strategies to other learning situations.

The authors, however, do not address the argument against instruction from the Nijmegen group. For those who take this criticism seriously but still want to argue for CS instruction, the more limited stance developed earlier by Faerch and Kasper (1983) is appealing. If there is no need to teach language learners new behavior, they argue, a teacher can nonetheless remind them of what they already do in their L1, and urge them to use it in their L2, not only for communication but also for learning the target language.

Even among those who believe that CS have value for L2 learning there is a question as to whether all strategies are equally beneficial. Oxford, et al. (1989) seem to claim learning value for all of their compensation strategies. Dörnyei (1995) speculates that strategies are not equally desirable in a language course, and surmises that the preferable ones are those that associate naturally with certain vocabulary and grammatical structures (p. 62), though this idea is not developed in detail. Faerch and Kasper (1983) make the most thoughtful argument regarding the learning value of different types of CS. A learner develops L2 ability, they claim, by forming hypotheses about the target language and producing utterances to test these hypotheses. Through positive and negative feedback, hypotheses are strengthened, weakened, or revised. As a learner uses language forms repeatedly, the forms are automatized.

Faerch and Kasper (1983) argue that only those CS which involve these three aspects of language learning—hypothesis formation, hypothesis testing, and automatization—are useful for learning. *The strategies employed for hypothesis testing and/or automatization are those strategies which require L2 production*. We designate these strategies as "recommended strategies"; that is, strategies we recommend for classroom practice, and relegate other strategies, such as those using the L1 or non-verbal means, as non-recommended strategies. (See Method, below, for category details.)

While there is little research focusing on whether or not attention to strategies in the classroom increases strategy use, some studies suggest that such attention does have benefits. Faerch and Kasper (1986) reported on a course in Denmark, which included a pre-test, three months of strategy training, and a post-test. The course did not seem to change the habits of the most or the least accomplished L2 learners, but those learners at the middle level improved in strategy use. Dörnyei (1995) describes a six-week course of strategy training in Hungary which also used pre- and post-tests. Dörnyei's study compared a treatment group with two control groups, one taking the usual course at the particular school involved and the other receiving instruction in conversational techniques. Included in the treatment group training was practice in giving definitions, of interest to the present study. Dörnyei found that the CS instruction group showed greater improvement in making definitions than did the normal instruction group; the comparison with the conversation instruction group was not significant. As Dörnyei admits, however, the curriculum for the conversation instruction group may have included activities helpful for forming definitions, thus narrowing the difference between this group and the treatment group. Most recently, Kitajima (1997) reports on an experiment in strategy training in Japan very similar to Dörnyei's. A control group given traditional English instruction focusing on linguistic forms performed significantly more poorly on two communicative tasks than did two experimental groups, one given instruction in expressing meaning and the other specifically instructed in CS use. The two experimental groups did not differ from each other. This situation, however, compares with that of Dörnyei's study; the meaning-instructed group could have performed activities that facilitate CS use.

The Study

We view our study as consistent with principles espoused by proponents of action research (see Crookes, 1993; Nunan, 1992; Sagor, 1993). Specifically, we were motivated by our perception of a problem among the Japanese university students we were teaching. Both of us observed that many of our students did not seem to realize their L1 strategic competence was also applicable to their L2, and, further, for many, the strategies they did use (L1-based or non-verbal) were not beneficial to language learning. We assessed the arguments regarding communication strategies and instruction with these observations in mind, and collaborated on this study as working teachers sharing information to overcome a problem we had in common. Our added hope was to persuade other teachers of the same type of student population to consider the need for CS training in their classrooms.

In order to understand more clearly how our students conceptualized their L2 communicative potential and to determine students' conceptions of CS use in different situations, especially as certain situations allow for more L2 avoidance than others, we proposed the following research questions:

1. When faced with the problem of not knowing an English word, will our students first consider using those strategies that have a positive potential for the development of their language proficiency? and
2. Will students' responses differ between situations in which they can easily avoid using their L2 and situations in which they cannot? If so, how?

Method

Materials: We asked our students to imagine themselves in two situations in which they lacked, in L2, a certain low frequency noun. In the first situation, a student practicing English in a classroom wants to describe fixing a faucet but does not know the word "valve." In the other, a student traveling in Los Angeles calls a drugstore to ask for a nail clipper, but does not know that English word. The first situation—a typical English as a Foreign Language classroom situation, hereinafter "the classroom situation"—allows students to avoid their L2 by using their L1 or nonverbal communication. In the second—in a foreign country, on the telephone, hereinafter "the telephone situation"—they are more dependent on their L2. (See Appendix A for copies of the two situations and their English translations.)

The subjects both read the situations and wrote what they would do in Japanese. We had them use their native language to ensure that they would express themselves precisely.

Some readers may criticize our method of data collection as indirect, and argue that observation of actual CS use yields more valuable data. While we recognize the value of elicited speech data, we feel data such as those we collected are valuable within certain constraints. First, as noted earlier, we consider speakers' attention to their language production to be an important component of CS use. With attention comes the potential for introspection. In this case, we wanted to know which strategies our students would think of using when they encountered an L2 communication problem. Such ideas could later be addressed through explicit instruction. Further, time and personnel constraints would permit us to tape, transcribe, and analyze the data from only a few students using CS, while our survey obtained a broad view of the beliefs about strategies of a large number of our students.

Subjects and Data Collection: All 161 subjects participating in this study were Japanese university freshmen taking non-major English courses. Of these, 141 were economics, business or law majors at Nanzan University and 20 were science majors at Kyushu Institute of Technology.

The two situations were handed out in the students' English classes, and were counterbalanced to discourage students from copying. Each student wrote about one situation. Half the students in each class ($n = 80$) wrote about the classroom situation, and the other half ($n = 81$) wrote about the telephone situation. Both researchers read all of the writings and classified the strategies reported, checking each other's work and discussing discrepancies until we could agree.

Before describing the strategy classifications we used in this study, we must acknowledge that there are many typologies (e.g. see Bialystok, 1983; Faerch & Kasper, 1983; Paribahkt, 1985; Poulisse, et al., 1984; Tarone, 1977), a phenomenon criticized as a weakness in the field of CS because it hinders comparisons across studies (see Poulisse, et al.). Globally considered, our typology uses that of Faerch and Kasper as a framework, since we have used their ideas concerning strategies and language learning in arguing for instruction. However, our subcategories are largely adopted from Poulisse, et al. (1984) (though changing some terms for ease of understanding), because they offer a simple set of categories intended for cross-study comparison.

Faerch and Kasper's (1983) chief distinction is between *achievement strategies*, in which a speaker attempts to communicate a message despite language difficulties, and *reduction strategies*, in which a speaker reduces a message (or part of it) due to lacking language or a concern for formal correctness. The largest category of achievement strategies is *compensatory strategies*, classified according to the resource used: L1, interlanguage together with L1, interlanguage, interaction with the hearer, and non-linguistic resources (Faerch & Kasper, 1983, pp. 36-55).

Poulisse, et al. (1984) accept Faerch and Kasper's (1983) division of reduction and achievement, and identify the latter with compensatory strategies. In our study, we also adopted Poulisse, et al.'s distinction between first and second language (L1 and L2) based strategies. Of the strategies classified as *L1-based*, we adopted two categories: *L1 switch*, where the speaker uses an L1 word or phrase in the midst of L2 production, and *direct translation*, where the speaker translates, word for word, an L1 word or phrase into L2. As for the L2-based strategy categories, we adopted five (using their terms): "approximation," "word coinage," "description," "mime," and "appeals." However, since the distinction between L2-based strategies and others is important to our argument for instruction, we reclassified mime and divided appeals.

"Mime" is the use of hand or body movements to convey a meaning. We put this category into a larger set, separate from both L1- and L2-based strategies, using Faerch and Kasper's (1983) term *non-linguistic strategies*. We distinguished between using gestures to give the impression of an object (*mime*) and pointing to an object (*point to object*), and included drawing a picture of an object (*picture*) as a third category in this set.

Two factors were involved in classifying "appeals": (a) to whom the speaker appeals, and (b) how the appeal is made. First, the speaker could appeal to the hearer (*appeal to interlocutor*) or to someone or something else (*outside appeal*). Second, an appeal to an interlocutor could use L1-based, L2-based, or non-linguistic strategies, and an outside appeal could be made by using a dictionary (*dictionary*) or asking a third person (*appeal to other*). We categorized those appeals to interlocutor which use L2-based strategies as a subset of the overall category of L2-based strategies, and listed appeals using L1-based or non-linguistic strategies separately.

As for the categories we have kept intact, *approximation* is the use of a target language word or phrase which does not exactly express the speaker's intended meaning but is close enough for the listener to understand. An example (from our data, as are all examples) is "water pipe" used for "valve." In *word coinage*, the speaker creates a new word or phrase from elements in the target language, such as "waterstopper" for "valve." In *description*, the speaker describes an object or an idea to convey an impression, such as describing a valve as "the thing that stops water." Finally, we added the category of *general L2-based strategies*, a catchall category used when subjects reported that they would use their English, but did not say specifically how.

As for reduction strategies, we used two categories from Faerch and Kasper (1983): *avoidance*, where the speaker avoids a topic because of a language problem, and *abandonment*, where the speaker abandons a topic when a language problem is encountered.

Table 1 displays our categories. We list L2-based strategies in the left-hand column, with the heading "Recommended Strategies," and all other strategies in the right-hand column, with the heading "Non-recommended Strategies."

Table 1: Categories of CS

Recommended Strategies	Non-recommended Strategies
L2-Based	L1-Based
1. approximation	1. L1 switch
2. word coinage	2. direct translation
3. description	3. appeal to interlocutor:
4. appeal to interlocutor:	A. L1 switch
A. approximation	B. direct translation
B. word coinage	Non-linguistic
C. description	1. mime
D. general	2. point to object
5. general	3. picture
	4. appeal to interlocutor:
	A. mime
	B. point to object
	C. picture
	Outside Appeal
	1. dictionary
	2. appeal to other
	Reduction
	1. avoidance
	2. abandonment

Recommended and Non-recommended Strategies: We categorize L1-based and non-linguistic strategies as non-recommended because we believe they do not need attention in an L2 classroom. We want to encourage our students to start solving communication problems by using their L2, since we believe that L2 develops through use. We realize that non-linguistic strategies (e.g., mime) may be necessary for communicative purposes when L2-based strategies fail, but we suggest to our students that they resort to them only after trying L2-based strategies. As for L1 use, Faerch and Kasper (1986) note that in some cases a strategy such as L1 switch may have communicative value. Words from popular culture, such as "disco," are used internationally, while Indo-European cognates, such as "idealism," are found in a variety of related languages. Our Japanese students may know the popular culture words, but since Japanese is not an Indo-European language, they do not have access to the cognates. Thus, for Japanese learners of English, L1 switch is not useful for communicative purposes. The strategy of direct translation is similarly problematic. While a Japanese student in an English class may successfully convey a meaning to another Japanese student directly translating from L1, this strategy may not be helpful in communicating with a person unfamiliar with Japanese. For example, the meaning of "faucet" will not be communicated by directly translating *ja-guchi* as "snake-mouth." Because L1-based strategies are not likely to be generalizable to interactions with English speakers who do not speak Japanese, we do not recommend them.

While dictionary use helps students learning new words, it breaks face-to-face communication, perhaps requiring repair (e.g., "I don't know how to say. . . . Excuse me while I check my dictionary."), which may be stressful for an L2 speaker. Further, a dictionary may yield a word which is not the best for the specific context, and a pocket dictionary, in fact, may not even contain the word. Because such problems may occur with a dictionary, L2-based strategies are often more effective for communication.

Having distinguished recommended and non-recommended strategies, we argue that implementing a CS training program should depend upon whether students already use the recommended strategies or not. Each teacher first needs to assess his or her particular student population. This paper reports our assessment, and results suggest that our students do need strategy training.

Results

Many students listed more than one strategy that they would use. We decided to consider the strategies in the order listed, assuming that the order represented which strategies were thought of first, next, and later. Indeed, many students indicated an order of preference with phrases that may be translated as "First I would. . . . If that didn't work, I would . . ." Others seemed to list strategies as equivalent choices, but nonetheless given in a particular order. In these cases, students used language translatable as "I would. . . . Another possibility is. . . . " We analyzed only the strategies they listed first.

Although students were not randomly assigned to the two situations (but, rather, were interleaved) we took the liberty of violating this statistical assumption and performed a Chi-square analysis of our data. The

Table 2: Chi-square Analyses of Recommended Versus Non-recommended Strategies in Two Situations.

The Telephone Situation

Strategies	Obs	Exp	O-E	2	2/E
Recommended	42	40.5	+1.5	2.25	0.05
Non-recommended	39	40.5	-1.5	2.25	0.05

$\chi 2\ (1, N=81) = 0.1$, n.s.

The Classroom Situation

Strategies	Obs	Exp	O-E	2	2/E
Recommended	26	40	-14	196	4.9
Non-recommended	54	40	+14	196	4.9

$\chi 2\ (1, N= 80) = 9.8, p < .005$

Situations Compared

Strategies	Telephone	Classroom	Both
Recommended	42	26	68
Non-recommended	39	54	93
Total	81	80	161

$\chi 2\ (1, N= 161) = 6.178, p < .025$

statistic allowed us to determine if the difference in responses between students in the two situations was reliable or not. We set the criterion for statistical significance at $p < .05$.

For the telephone situation, the number of students who first said they would use a recommended strategy was nearly equal to the number of those who first said they would use a non-recommended one. As shown in Table 2, an analysis using a one-way Chi-square statistic revealed no significant difference between the types at the $p < .05$ level ($\chi 2$ (1, n = 81) = 0.1, n.s.). On the other hand, for the classroom situation, we found a preponderance greater than 2:1 of non-recommended to recommended strategies, a significant difference ($\chi 2$ (1, n = 80) = 9.8, $p <$. 005). Thus, students' responses to the two situations appeared to vary. A two-way Chi-square shows that the difference between selection of recommended or non-recommended strategies across the two situations was statistically significant ($\chi 2$ (1, N = 161) = 6.178, $p < .025$).

In the telephone situation, most students first said they would (a) use an L2-based strategy (mostly description, 22 of the 42 L2-based strategy choices), or (b) abandon communication (31 of the 39 non-recommended strategy choices). In the classroom situation, the largest group said they would use a non-linguistic strategy (primarily mime, and secondarily drawing a picture, together comprising 30 of 38 non-linguistic strategy choices). The second largest group said they would use an L2-based strategy (again, mostly description, 19 of the 26 L2-based strategy choices). Finally, a third group said they would use a dictionary (11 of 12 outside appeals).

Discussion

Students' Strategy Choices in Two Situations

The different responses to the two situations suggest that if these students know that they can use a non-verbal CS (e.g., in face-to-face communication) nearly half of them (the largest single group) will list one as their first choice. When they have no such recourse to the non-verbal channel (e.g., over the phone), the number of students who first choose to abandon the conversation dramatically increases. The students seem to avoid a perceived weakness in L2 competence, relying, whenever possible, on other perceived non-linguistic strengths. At least in the case of concrete nouns (and probably many basic verbs and adjectives as well), it seems easier for them to communicate by non-verbal means than to use the L2. As we argued earlier, we doubt if strategies such as gestures, drawing, or pointing at objects do much to develop students' linguistic abilities.

We designed the telephone situation to force students either to use their L2 or to abandon communication. Students never listed mime as a first-choice strategy, since mime cannot be done over the phone; the person in the situation has to abandon the telephone conversation and then seek face-to-face contact with the pharmacist (indeed, the students who listed mime second or later described what they needed to do before they could use mime). In the telephone situation, about half the students take a chance and speak in English while the other half hang up the phone. Should the evidence that about 50% of our subjects already have L2-based CS in mind compel us to say that such strategies need not be taught, or should we say that since about 50% do not have these strategies in mind, some classroom work devoted to strategy use may be beneficial? Pedagogically, a passing grade for only half of one's class is unacceptable. Furthermore, we see that as other, seemingly easier, options are made available in class, our students are less likely to use L2-based strategies.

The number of students who opted to abandon communication or use either non-linguistic or L1-based strategies might suggest that the situations were too difficult for our students' L2 abilities. However, looking at the L2-based strategies described by other students in our data, we do not think so. For example, two students wrote, in English, "the thing to cut off my nails," and "I need to cut my nail. Do you have something to?" We would like to take classroom opportunities to encourage learners to use these kinds of strategies and to give them relevant structures to increase their range of expression.

Conclusion

We accept Faerch and Kasper's (1983) proposal that L2-based CS are involved in a speaker's hypothesis testing and automatization of an L2, and therefore can help the speaker learn the language. Our students' responses to our two situations suggest that quite a few students do not first think of using an L2-based strategy to counter an L2 communication problem, especially when they can choose a non-verbal strategy. Therefore, we need to encourage our students to use those strategies which benefit language learning. While the relationship between strategies and learning and/or proficiency needs further study, we believe our work supports the idea that CS training is valuable for foreign language learners if the following conditions are met: (a) the strategies practiced in class are chosen for learning as well as communication value, and (b) the learners in question do not yet realize the value of using L2-based strategies.

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George Russell teaches in the Department of Human Sciences at Kyushu Institute of Technology, Kitakyushu.
Lester Loschky, formerly at the Department of British and American Studies Nanzan University, Nagoya, is currently at the Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, Urbana, U.S.A.
Address correspondence to: George Russell, Kyushu Institute of Technology, Faculty of Engineering, Department of Human Sciences, 1-1 Sensui-cho, Tobata-ku, Kitakyushu 804-0015.
E-mail: russell@dhs.kyutech.ac.jp

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Appendix: The Two Situations, English and Japanese Versions

The Classroom Situation

あなたは大学の英語の教室にいます。英会話の練習のために、もう一人の学生と英語で話しています。話題は土曜日や日曜日のできごとです。「土曜日の朝は大変でした。水道の蛇口から水がもれたから、二、三時間も栓を直していました。」と言いたいです。しかし、「栓」と英語で言う方法がわかりません。その時、あなたはどうしますか。

You are in a college English classroom. To practice English conversation, you are speaking in English to another student. The topic of conversation is what you did over the weekend. You want to say, "Saturday morning I was really busy. Because water was leaking out of a faucet, I spent two or three hours fixing the valve." However, you do not know how to say the word "valve" in English. In this situation, what would you do?

The Telephone Situation

ロスへ海外旅行にいった。ロスに着いた後、指の爪が割れて爪切りが必要になった。しかし、自分の爪切りは日本の住宅においてきた事に気付いた。買い物の時間を無駄にしないように、イエローページを使って、ある薬局に 電話した。薬局にかけると、爪切りは英語で何と言うか知らない事を思い出した。その時、あなたはどうしますか。

You are on a trip to Los Angeles. A fingernail breaks and you need a nailclipper. However, you realize that you have left your nailclipper at home in Japan. To avoid wasting time shopping, you check the yellow pages and call up a pharmacy. When the pharmacist answers, you remember that you do not know how to say "nailclipper" in English. In this situation, what would you do?

Perspectives

Classroom Self-Assessment—A Pilot Study

Dale T. Griffee
Seigakuin University

Student self-assessment is of great interest to teachers who want their students to take more responsibility for learning by judging their own progress. This exploratory study compares self assessment, teacher assessment and peer assessment in a Japanese university EFL class. Nineteen students gave oral presentations and each student rated her own performance in terms of eight categories (loudness, eye contact, etc.). The other students also assessed the talk, as did the teacher. The three types of assessment scores were added, averaged and then compared. The results suggest that student and teacher assessment scores were similar and the scores of the higher proficiency students were more similar to the teacher scores than the lower proficiency students' scores. There was no difference in the way the male and female students judged themselves, and the self-assessment scores tended to be similar to the teacher scores.

学習者に自らの英語能力や学習状況を評価させ、学習により積極的な責任を負わせたいと願う教師にとっては、学習者の自己評価の妥当性・信頼性は重要な問題である。本研究では、学習者の自己評価を、他の学習者が行なった評価、教師が行なった評価と比較した。まず。被験者である19名の学習者に英語で口頭発表させ、自らの発表を、声の大きさ、アイ・コンタクト等の8項目で評価させた。同時に、同じ8項目について、他の学習者にも評価させ、それらの評価得点の平均値を求めた。さらに教師も同様に評価を行なった。

これらの3種類の評価を比較分析した結果、1）学習者による評価が教師の行なった評価に近似していること、2）英語能力の高い学習者は、英語能力の低い学習者に比べて、より教師に近い評価を行なったこと、3）学習者による自己評価に男女差は認められなかったこと、が判明した。

学習者が自ら行なった評価は、教師の行なった評価と大きく異なることはなかった。

In many educational settings, a close relationship between assessment and curriculum has developed over the past twenty years (Fradd & McGee, 1994, p. 281), and it is now commonly accepted that the learner should have a role in classroom assessment (Griffee, 1995; LeBlanc & Painchaud, 1985; Nunan, 1988). Nevertheless, student self-assessment (SSA) is still not common in the field of teaching English as a second or foreign language. This report presents the results of a limited investigation of the effectiveness of self-assessment of an oral presentation activity in a Japanese university EFL classroom compared with peer-assessment and teacher assessment.

Classroom Research on the Use of Learner Self-Assessment

Self-assessment is also known as self-report, self-rating or self-evaluation and has been defined as checking one's own performance on a learning task after it has been completed (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992, p. 327). Wesche, Paribakht and Ready (1996, p. 199) state that "self-report procedures usually require candidates to rate their ability to do certain things using their L2, or their knowledge of particular elements or patterns of the L2."

Current trends now favor communicative language teaching. This pedagogy brings the learner to center stage (Graves, 1996, p. 24) and supports autonomous learning and the learner-centered classroom, formats which favor the use of SSA. For example, Dickinson (1993, p. 330) lists five characteristics of an autonomous learner: The autonomous learner can identify what has been taught, can formulate his own learning objectives, can select and implement his learning strategies, and can self-assess. In discussing the learner-centered classroom, Nunan (1988, p. 116) argues that both the learner and the teacher should be involved in evaluation, and Griffee's review (1995, p. 3) identifies SSA as an important characteristic of learner-centered classrooms.

Proponents of SSA offer wide-ranging justifications for its use, some of which are supported by empirical studies and some of which remain working hypotheses. These can be reduced to nine general arguments.

1. Self-assessment raises self-consciousness by focusing learner attention on performance (Nunan, 1988, p. 116; Oskarson, 1989, p. 4).
2. Self-assessment increases learner motivation (Rolfe, 1990, p. 169); a review of the literature (Blanch, 1988, p. 82) cites eight studies supporting this suggestion.
3. Self-assessment promotes learning by giving learners training in evaluation (Oskarson, 1989, p. 3). This occurs when learners address questions such as "What am I learning?" and "How well am I learning?"
4. The criteria for self-assessment can be directly related to course goals and objectives allowing the learner to better understand course organization (Brindley, 1989, p. 60).
5. Self-assessment can result in learners becoming more goal-oriented (Rolfe, 1990, p. 169), thereby exerting more effort to achieve their

goals, and even formulate goals themselves (Oskarson, 1989, p. 4). Within the context of given course objectives, SSA can show both learner and teacher new ways to accomplish those objectives (Legutke & Thomas, 1991, p. 243).

6. Self-assessment can help learners identify preferred materials as well as learning styles and strategies (Nunan, 1988, p. 130).
7. Self-assessment helps promote a cooperative classroom (Brindley, 1989, p. 60).
8. Self-assessment frees the teacher from being the only person in the classroom concerned with evaluation (Brindley, 1989, p. 60; Oskarson, 1989, p. 4; Rolfe, 1990, p. 169).
9. Self-assessment can continue after the course is finished. This is an important consideration since no single teacher or course can teach the entirety of a language. Therefore, learners must continue to acquire language through their own effort (Dickinson, 1987, p. 136; Oskarson, 1989, p. 5).

On the other hand, there have also been objections to wide-spread use of SSA. These can be summarized by the following three arguments. The first is that many learners lack the ability to self-assess and cannot do it reliably (Oskarson, 1989, p. 2). Citing Blanch and Merino (1989), Cohen (1994, p. 199) lists five factors that can threaten the validity of self-assessment, including the fact that learners may not be able to accurately report or assess what is often subconscious behavior. Second, learners may lack motivation to self-assess because of culturally-based expectations of appropriate classroom behavior and activities (Cohen, 1994, p. 199; Lynn, 1995, p. 37). Additional problems come from subjectivity and the natural desire of students to inflate their ratings, whether this is intentional or not (Brindley, 1989, p. 61; Dickinson, 1987, p. 134). A third obstacle to SSA is the lack of shared valid criteria for the learners and the teacher to use in assessment (Blanch, 1988, p. 82; Cohen, 1994, p. 199). This situation occurs when the teacher asks student to assess their work without clearly explaining the criteria which must be used. The lack of learner training in assessment (Cohen, 1994, p. 199) is related to this lack of criteria and probably results from unwarranted teacher assumptions that learners have the tools for self-assessment (LeBlanc & Painchaud, 1985, p. 675).

Such objections account for teacher skepticism (Brindley, 1989, p. 60) and, when combined with the natural fear of change (Rojas, 1995, p. 32), may account in part for the lack of SSA in many classrooms today.

However, many of these objections are based on teacher supposition rather than actual research findings. For example, a study using confirmatory factor analysis and a multitrait-multimethod design (Bachman & Palmer, 1989, p. 22) reports that self-ratings can be a reliable and valid measure of communicative language ability.

Regarding the question of consistent agreement between individual self-assessments and other sources, a review of 16 articles (Blanch, 1988, p. 81) reported a pattern of consistent agreement between SSA and a variety of external criteria. However, other research findings are less positive. A study of adult learners of various linguistic backgrounds in Australia (Rolfe, 1990, p. 177) reported that students consistently rated themselves lower than their peers' ratings. Whereas Dickinson (1987, p. 150) suggested that learners are biased in their own favor, Rolfe (1990, p. 178) concluded that learners are more critical of themselves than their teachers are; thus SSA was not a reliable indicator of oral ability as compared to teacher-assessment (TA). In comparing SSA to peer-assessment (PA), Rolfe reported that the PA may therefore be more reliable. Falchikov and Boud (1989, p. 398) investigated whether fourth year university students were more accurate in their SA than first year students and concluded that they were not. This is in accord with the findings of Griffee (1996, p. 32), who reported on a classroom SSA project in which there was no major difference in self-evaluations among first-year, second-year, and third-year oral conversation classes at a Japanese university. Relative to possible differences in male and female responses to self-assessment, Falchikov and Boud (1989, p. 396) concluded that gender differences are under-researched and that no conclusions can be drawn. They also question whether learners overestimate or underestimate themselves relative to teacher assessment, and stress the need for further research investigating the reliability of self-assessment among different groups of learners as well as the development of methods to improve the learners' ability to accurately estimate their performance.

The Study

Research Questions

The purpose of this exploratory study is to examine the operation of SSA in a Japanese university EFL classroom setting. The specific research questions are:

1. To what extent will SSA, PA, and TA test scores agree?
2. Will there be a higher level of agreement between more proficient

students and the teacher than between less proficient students and the teacher?

3. Will there be any gender differences in self-assessment?
4. Will SSA be higher or lower than TA?

Methods

Subjects: The students who participated in this study were enrolled in the second semester of a first-year required English oral conversation course at a small liberal arts university in Japan. The total class enrollment was 24, with 12 females and 12 males, but only 19 students were present during the two class periods when the study was conducted. The majority of the students were 18 or 19 years old. The subjects' Secondary Level English Proficiency (SLEP®) test scores averaged 42.0, which is equivalent to 400 on the TOEFL®. The SLEP® test scores were used to divide the students into high-proficiency and low-proficiency groups in the following way: The four subjects with scores of the mean value 42 were eliminated, leaving 10 students with scores over 42, eight of whom gave oral presentations and 10 students with scores under 42, seven of whom gave oral presentations. The presentation theme for all students was "How I study vocabulary."

Materials: A short score sheet (see the Appendix) was constructed which asked students to evaluate each oral presenter on eight points within three categories—voice, body language, and content. Under the category of "voice," the points to be rated were loudness, clarity, and speed; under "body language," the points were eye contact and gestures; under "content," the points were introduction, interesting talk, and conclusion. Each point could be rated on a Likert-type scale with values from one to three, with three as the highest score.

Procedures: A 45-minute training session was conducted by a Japanese native speaker and an English native speaker. Each category was explained in some detail in both Japanese and English, then each of the eight evaluation points was illustrated by the English native speaker in all three conditions and discussed by the Japanese native speaker.

The students were then assigned the oral presentation topic and two class sessions were spent making the oral presentations. When making the oral presentation, the student came to the front of the room and stood behind the teacher's desk. The talk had no time limit, although most talks were completed in under five minutes. After the oral presentation, the teacher, the student giving the talk, and the rest of the students completed their score sheets.

Analysis

Pearson product-moment correlations were used to analyze the individual self-assessment, the PA, and the TA scores, with the alpha level set at .05. Use of the Pearson correlation procedure assumes the presence of interval scales, equivalent reliability, independent data, a normal distribution, and a linear relationship (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991, p. 549). To check these assumptions, descriptive statistics were generated by StatView 4.5 for the Macintosh (1992). Correction for attenuation[1] was done using the formula from Guilford and Fruchter (1973, p. 439). The non-parametric Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test was also used to determine if there was any difference between the SSA scores and teacher scores. Cronbach's alpha, a measure of reliability, and the standard error of measurement (SEM) were calculated on a spreadsheet from the formula provided in Brown (1996, p. 196).

Results

The descriptive statistics reveal similarities between the SA and the TA scores (Table 1), with a mean assessment score of about 1.8 for each group. However, the mean PA score of 2.28 was higher than both SA and TA scores. The SLEP® scores formed a fairly normal distribution. Therefore, a Pearson correlation was calculated for both groups of students between their SA scores and the teacher scores to determine which group's ratings was closest to the ratings of the teacher. The correlation between the higher proficiency students' scores and the teacher scores

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics, Alpha Reliability, and SEM for SSA, PA, and TA

	SSA	PA	TA
Mean	1.85	2.28	1.80
Standard Deviation	.63	.34	.74
Minimum	1.00	1.20	1.00
Maximum	3.00	3.00	3.00
Median	2.00	2.30	2.00
Skewness	.12	-.62	.33
Kurtosis	-.53	.63	-1.10
Chronbach's alpha	.84	.77	.79
SEM	1.12	.56	1.63

was .241 ($p < .0547$), whereas the correlation between the lower proficiency students' scores and the teacher scores was .187 ($p < .695$). To determine whether there was a significant difference between all SSA scores and TA scores, a Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test was performed. The results ($z = -.575$, $p < .5653$) indicate that there was no significant difference between the two sets of scores.

Pearson correlations between the total scores for student assessment, PA, and TA were calculated and corrected for attenuation (Table 2). A low correlation was found between SSA and TA, a slightly higher correlation was found between SSA and PA, and a relatively strong correlation was found between PA and TA. R square, which is the Pearson correlation coefficient squared and expressed as a percentage, gives an indication of the magnitude of the relationship. The figure of six percent for the relationship between the SSA scores and the teacher assessment scores indicates that only six percent can be accounted for by the correlation, whereas 13% of the relationship between SSA and PA is explained, and 42% of the relationship between SSA and TA is accounted for by the correlation, as shown below.

To investigate the existence of gender differences in assessment score values, the scores were totaled for each student and the number of student scores that were higher and lower than TA scores was counted (Table 3). To account for standard error, if the difference between higher than TA and lower than TA scores was plus or minus one, these values were eliminated and the resulting scores are referred to as adjusted scores.

There were 12 students who rated themselves higher than the teacher's ratings, and seven students who rated themselves lower. After eliminating the scores with values of plus or minus one from the teacher's scores, there were ten students who rated themselves higher than the teacher and six students who rated themselves lower. Of the ten who rated themselves

Table 2: Pearson Product-Moment Correlations (r)
Between SSA, PA and TA

	r	p	C/A	R^2
SSA and TA	207	.0104	.254	.06
SSA and PA	.285	.0003	.354	.13
PA and TA	.508	.0001	.651	.42

SSA = student self-assessment, TA = teacher assessment, PA = peer assessment, C/A = correction for attenuation

Table 3: Individual Student Scores Higher than TA and Lower than TA

	Higher	Lower	Adjusted Higher	Adjusted Lower
Males	7	3	5	3
Females	5	4	5	3
Totals	12	7	10	6

higher, five were males and five were females. Of the six who rated themselves lower, three were males and three were females. Thus, there were no gender differences in scoring in the restricted sample used here.

Discussion

The first research question asked whether the SSA, PA, and TA test scores agreed. The descriptive statistics show that the SSA scores were similar to the TA scores. The correlations in Table 1 indicate a low correlation between the SSA and TA, a modest agreement between SSA and their peers, and a higher agreement between PA and TA. On the face of it, this would seem to suggest that students did not agree with the teacher in their assessment of themselves, whereas, as a group evaluating each other (PA), their scores were similar to their teacher's scores. However this result should be interpreted cautiously. The SSA and teacher scores suffered from restriction of range, suggesting that the correlation coefficients were very likely depressed. The use of a limited Likert scale, with values of only one to three, produced the low variance. The relationship between SSA and TA therefore requires further investigation using a larger number of subjects and an instrument with a greater number of choices, permitting more variance.

The second research question asked whether higher proficiency learners would exhibit better agreement between their self-evaluations and the teacher evaluations than the lower proficiency group. The answer to this question was inconclusive. The correlation between the teacher scores and the higher ability students scores (r = .241; $p < .05$) was higher than the correlation between the lower ability students and the teacher (r = .187; $p < .70$), but was not statistically significant.

The third research question involved the impact of gender on the evaluation process. As shown in Table 3, the number of male students who rated themselves higher or lower than the teacher was exactly the same as the number of female students who scored themselves higher or lower. In this limited study, gender was not significant, but it should be noted that the number of subjects was low.

Research question four asked whether the SSA scores would be higher or lower than the teacher scores. The results indicate there was no difference between SSA scores and teacher scores. This suggests that students were assessing themselves in a manner similar to the teacher and provides some support for the validity of SSA, keeping in mind the limitations of this pilot study.

Conclusion

Problems with the present study include the restricted Likert scale which produced a narrow band of scores, the small number of subjects, and the use of a data collection instrument which was not validated. Therefore the findings reported here are not generalizable. Nevertheless, this preliminary study is encouraging in that the student peer-assessment appears to be similar to teacher assessment in the group studied. Suggestions for future research include use of a validated data collection instrument, a much larger number of subjects and a five-point Likert scale to increase the score range. There is also a clear need for longitudinal studies which examines the effect of experience and training on student assessment.

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Dale T. Griffee teaches at Seigakuin University. His major research interests are curriculum and evaluation and he has edited (with David Nunan) *Classroom Teachers and Classroom Research* in the JALT Applied Materials series. He can be contacted at Seigakuin University, 1-1 Tosaki, Ageo-shi, Saitama-ken 362 or by e-mail: <Dale_Griffee@ringo.net>.

Notes

1. Attenuation is a correction for reliability applied to a correlation coefficient. Correlation assumed perfect reliability. If the reliability is .70, this means that 30% of the score is error which lowers the correlation coefficient. Attenuation takes this into account.

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Appendix

Oral Presentation Score Sheet Used by Students and Teacher

Speaker ____________________ Date ____________________

		needs work	ok	great
VOICE				
	loudness	1	2	3
	clear	1	2	3
	speed	1	2	3
BODY LANGUAGE				
	eye contact	1	2	3
	gesture	1	2	3
CONTENT				
	introduction	1	2	3
	interesting talk	1	2	3
	conclusion	1	2	3

Intensifying Practice and Noticing through Videoing Conversations for Self-Evaluation

Tim Murphey
Nanzan University

Tom Kenny
Nagoya University of Foreign Studies

This paper describes an innovative configuration of video cameras and VHS recorders which allows teachers to videotape students' short conversations and give them their video cassette copies immediately to take home and view. A preliminary analysis of questionnaire data suggests that students benefit from the procedure through repeated negotiated practice, multiple opportunities for "noticing" learnable material (linguistic items, communication strategies, beliefs, attitudes, etc.) in their own and their classmates' output, and control over the construction of extended discourse. We suggest that the procedure helps teachers create an acquisition-rich environment for their students to focus on the forms they need to improve their fluency and accuracy while enhancing their metacognitive awareness and autonomy. This procedure also offers a potentially rich source of data for teachers and researchers wishing to study SLA synchronically and diachronically.

本論文は教師がビデオカメラとビデオデッキを使って学生の短い会話をビデオに撮り、学生はそのビデオテープを持ち帰り分析するというこれまでに無い使い方を論じる。集まったデータを分析すると、学生はこのやり方を次の三つの分野で高く評価していることが分かる。1. 学生間でのナゴシエイションの練習の繰り返しをする。2. 自分、また同級生のビデオを見て、習得事項（言語事項、コミュニケーションの仕方、信条、姿勢等）に「注目する」機会が増す。3. 会話をどういうふうにするか。筆者は、この方法は教師が学生にとって取得の面で豊かな状況を作るのを助け、学生が自分のレベルで改善する必要のある事項に焦点を当て、メタ認知認識と自立を高めると結論する。これはまた学習というものを時を限り、また越えて研究しようとする教師、研究者に豊かなデータとなるものである。

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This article introduces a procedure that seeks to stimulate EFL/ESL students' desire to practice the target language and also to increase the number of opportunities they have for "noticing" their own and others' negotiated output. These increases are achieved when students regularly videotape and analyze their own conversations, a procedure called "videoing conversations for self-evaluation" (VCSE). Here *self-evaluation* refers not to the giving of grades but rather to the conscious act of examining one's performance as compared to previous performances, the performances of one's conversation partners, and language goals which are both predetermined and nascent. *Noticing* is defined by Ellis (1997, p. 55) as the process of consciously attending to linguistic features in the input. We use it here to refer not only to linguistic features, but also to noticing paralinguistic, discourse, and communication features and strategies, as well as beliefs and attitudes.

First we review the background of video use and highlight some second language acquisition (SLA) and communicative language teaching (CLT) supporting frameworks. Then we describe the VCSE procedure as we have used it . We provide preliminary questionnaire data supporting its effectiveness and describe the ways in which the procedure intensifies practice and noticing among students.

Background

The medium of video has gained wide popularity among CLT enthusiasts for its ability to model language in context and to serve as a focal point for many different communicative activities (Cooper, Lavery & Rinvolucri, 1991; Lonergan, 1984; Stempleski & Arcario, 1991; Stempleski & Tomalin, 1990). However, the use of video cameras for taping students is not often mentioned in the literature, and when it is, it most often refers to video projects (Miller, 1996; Stempleski & Tomalin, 1990) or short activities to which video might add another dimension (Cooper, Lavery & Rinvolucri, 1991). Directly videoing student conversation is seldom suggested (Lonergan, 1984, 1991), and then usually as a process in which only a few students are videoed and the conversation analyzed by the class.

However, much SLA research highlights the importance of negotiation of meaning (see Pica, 1996 for a review of the research) for the construction of comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985). Complementary research highlights the need for "pushed" output (Swain, 1995), the idea that the displayed competence of students needs to be stretched repeatedly so that students "increase in control over forms that have already been internalized" (Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993, p. 210).

The degree of control that learners exercise over the discourse is also important (Ellis, 1994, p. 594). Cathcart (1986) found that student-controlled discourse was characterized by a wide variety of communicative acts and syntactic structures, whereas teacher-controlled situations produced single-word utterances, short phrases, and formulaic chunks. Schneider (1993) also found that students who merely taped audio conversations with each other in the target language four times a week for 20 minutes "had a significant improvement in fluency ($p < 0.001$) over the year that was more than double that of the control group of those using a pair work text in the regular class" (p. 55). Simply saying "practice makes perfect" is too simple an explanation; the success of these students may owe much to the fact that they were in control of the content and in extended discourse.

More recently, some researchers, not content to wait for open-ended negotiated interaction to present certain structures, have advocated form-focused communicative interaction (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1997; Loschky & Bley-Vroman, 1990; Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993; Williams, 1995; 1997). Recognizing also that students need multiple meaningful encounters with information to acquire language more deeply (i.e., many examples of target forms in communicative negotiation) other researchers are looking into ways to do input flooding (Trahey & White, 1993) and output flooding (Goto & Murphey, 1997), where output flooding refers to the "pushed" repeated production of targeted forms in communicative interaction, as when students have to repeatedly tell different partners a story using some new vocabulary or grammar structure.

Schmidt & Frota's seminal article on noticing in 1986 and the more recent research in developing learners' metacognition, their ability to think about how they learn (Flavell, 1979), call for more involvement of the conscious mind in support of second language acquisition (Schmidt, 1990). When noticing and metacognition are encouraged within a framework of repeated meaningful negotiation among peers, there is even greater potential for learners "pushing" one another's development as they interact within and expand one another's zones of proximal development, or ZPD (Murphey, 1996c; Vygotsky, 1962). In Vygotskian sociocultural analysis, the ZPD is that potential domain of graspable learning that lies dormant for learners who are alone and without interaction. However, when learners are in interactive social situations where they can negotiate meaning with peers, the ZPD becomes actualized as the playing field for successful learning. This concept is in stark contrast to traditional descriptions of learning, a teacher-led process which is usually not "owned" by the learners. Learners within the same zones, more than merely modeling linguistic items for one another, also become holistic "near peer role models" (Murphey, 1996b) as they display, try on, and borrow one another's attitudes, beliefs, and learning strategies.

Additional SLA support for the VCSE procedure comes from the five communicative language teaching macrostrategies proposed by Kumaravadivelu (1993). These five strategies for teachers are proposed to help the CLT teacher create a genuinely communicative class:

1. Create learning opportunities in class
2. Utilize learning opportunities created by learners
3. Facilitate negotiated interaction among participants
4. Activate intuitive heuristics of the learner
5. Contextualize linguistic input

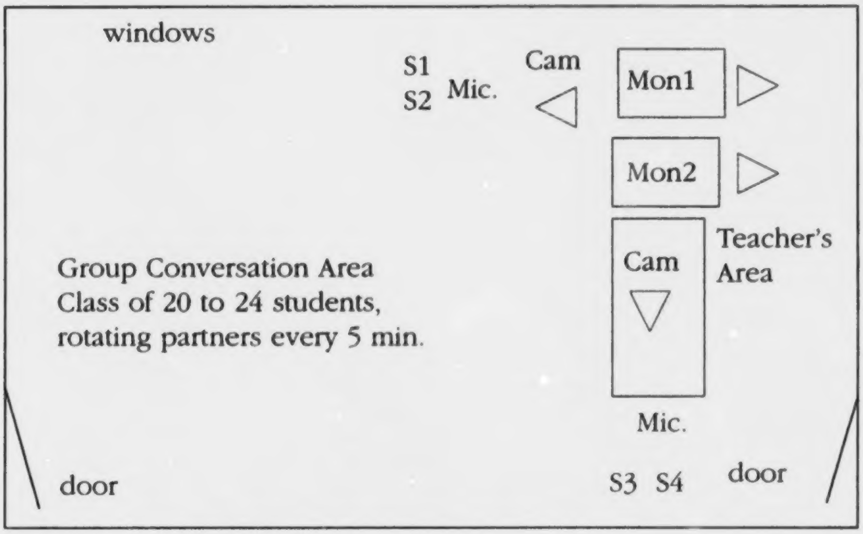
In the following section we will show how the VCSE procedure creates numerous learning opportunities in class, how students can use these to create more, how the teacher facilitates the interaction, how the learners' own data can activate their metacognition, and how their input and output are contextualized into short conversations repeated meaningfully with different partners (see also Kenny, 1997). It will also be clear that the VCSE procedure provides a macrostructure that encourages meaningful negotiated repetition of targeted language forms (targeted by teachers or learners) in and out of the classroom. The procedure also "pushes" output (Swain, 1995), encourages a focus on form, and supports the noticing of linguistic items and performance features that are within the ZPD of the students.

Procedure

In light of the above SLA and CLT processes and frameworks, we wanted to devise a way for Japanese university EFL class members to regularly negotiate interaction in extended discourse which they controlled. We also wanted them to have their own VHS cassette so they could evaluate their performance and learn from it. These are the essentials within which teachers can explore numerous other options. The following details of our situation are meant to serve as an example for a procedure open to practically any topic or linguistic focus.

Our weekly VCSE procedure has been refined over a three-year period. It is used with first- and second-year Japanese university English majors, 18 to 21 years old, who meet three times a week for 45 minutes per class. During the first two meetings each week, about half the time

Figure 1: VCSE Equipment Setup in a Classroom



is spent presenting and practicing new target material (e.g., conversation strategies, vocabulary, and certain grammatical structures) within certain topic areas (sports, culture, music, language learning, etc.) to be used during the third meeting, "video day." The rest of the time is spent on other learning activities that may or may not have direct relevance to their video performance.

On video day, each student brings a VHS video cassette wound to the end of the last conversation (to prevent old conversations from being erased). Students place their cassettes on the front desk at the beginning of class and the teacher chooses cassettes at random to make partners for the recordings. While four students are recording, two in front of one camera and two other in front of another (see Figure 1), the rest of the students remain in the group practice area, practicing for their turn at the video or simply honing their skills after being videoed. Because everyone is talking at the same time, no one is "on stage," being watched by the others. After four or five minutes, the four students finish their video conversation, get their videotapes from the teacher, and return to the conversation area to find new partners. Then four new students are called up to be videoed. In this way, each student is videoed for five minutes. Each week a new conversation is added to the previous conversations on their videotape. At the end of a twelve-week semester, every student has a videotape with about ten or eleven conversations.

Our video equipment consists of two cameras (Hi8 Handycams) attached to two VHS recorders, each system on a trolley so that it can be moved to the appropriate classrooms on video day (see Figure 1). Since the equipment allows four students to be videotaped in a five-minute period, videotaping 22 students requires only about 35 minutes, with changeover time included and a warm-up conversation at the beginning of class. (Note: A 23-minute semi-professionally produced video for teacher training purposes made after the first year of this project is available from the authors.)

The students receive their videotapes immediately, when they are especially curious and motivated to see it. They can go home or to the school's media center to watch it the same day. In order to focus the students on noticing even more, we have experimented with several activities to perform while viewing and analyzing their conversations:

Evaluation form: Students respond to a set of questions concerning their conversations: What did you notice that you said/did well? What mistakes did you make and how would you correct them? What did your partner say that you might like to use? How about your partner's mistakes? What are your goals for next week's videotaping?

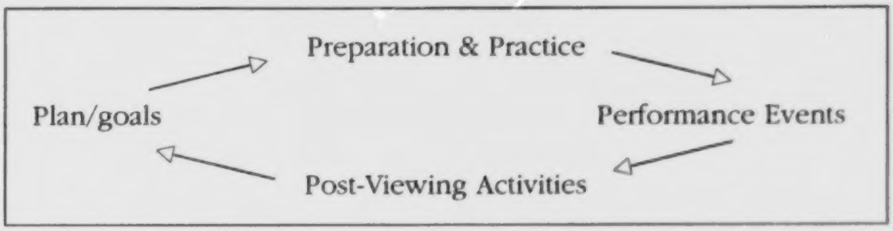
Transcriptions: Students transcribe their conversations correcting as many mistakes as they can find and also answer questions similar to those above.

Watching a partner's video: After a few weeks have passed and several conversations are recorded on their tape, the students take their partner's tape and watch all the conversations, including the last one they just did with each other. They are asked to notice conversational elements which they want to borrow (e.g., strategies and language items) and are asked to write short letters encouraging and giving advice to their partners.

A synopsis of the whole procedure is shown in Figure 2, starting with students' preparation for the recording, videoing it, viewing it, and then, on the basis of the viewing, planning goals for the next performance, practicing for it, and performing the cycle again.

The teachers keep the master tapes from the cameras and have several options. They can view them and comment to students individually, watch the taped conversation together with the student, have a counseling session, and/or stockpile the copies for eventual research. While extremely valuable for both teacher and learner, viewing and comment-

Figure 2: The VCSE Student Action Cycle



ing on each student's conversation can be an overwhelming task if done each week. One author asks his students to do transcripts and to self-correct the errors in the left-hand columns. Then he checks those corrections which theoretically represents the material that students are dealing with within their ZPDs and are therefore ready to address. The other author watches all conversations and writes comments on self-evaluation forms, approving (or correcting) the student self-corrections and pointing out useful language items.

An overview of the three periods of the process (before, during, and after videotaping), the student behaviors, and the corresponding theories are given in Figure 3 below.

Results

Student feedback was solicited through questionnaires and reports written after students reviewed the videos they had done for a semester (ten or eleven 5-minute conversations each semester; see Appendix 1 for the instructions). Feedback was also received weekly through self-evaluation forms, transcriptions and journals.

The authors have previously reported (Murphey & Kenny, 1995; 1996) that many students say they are uncomfortable during the first few weeks. They especially notice their silences, awkward movements, and the lack of questions. However, they soon find the videoing to be highly useful and even fun. In the students' end-of-semester reports, in which they do word counts comparing their first and last conversations as well as reviewing all their conversations, they confirm their developing ability to fill silences, continue conversations, and notice pronunciation and grammatical problems, and they are pleased with the obvious improvement. For example, in the spring semester of 1995, out of 40 first-year students reporting on the procedure, 22 said they had noticed the advantages of "shadowing" (i.e., regularly repeating parts of a partner's utterance; see

Figure 3: The Three Periods of the VCSE Process

Period	Activity	Theoretical correlates
1. Pre-Videoing •Monday Tuesday •Wednesday Thursday (•class days)	present input select input target items practice output recycle	comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985) learner training (Wenden & Gruben, 1987; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990) performance events (Murphey, 1996) facilitative anxiety (Alpert & Haber, 1960) *Notice* (Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Ellis, 1995) *Awareness* (Flavell, 1979) *Goals* (Nunan, 1997)
2. Video Day •Friday	talk to lots of partners videotaped with random partner notice and note items from partners to learn	multiple performance events pushed output (Swain, 1995) collaborative learning recycling facilitative anxiety *Notice* *Awareness* *Goals*
3. Post-Videoing Saturday Sunday	multiple viewing & pausing transcriptions of conversations focused observations & feedback with forms or logs or ... take partner's video home write self-progress report review partner's progress set goals for next time compile a "noticing list"	intensifying: *Notice* *Awareness* *Goals* action research loop bottom up/top down making input comprehensible "Grabbing the i+1" (Krashen) "within the ZPD" (Vygotsky, 1962) reflection (CLL) (Curran, 1997) learner autonomy (Holec, 1981)

Murphey, 1995), 20 reported they looked more relaxed in later videos, and 15 said they were now really enjoying speaking English. They mentioned there were no longer any silences (13 students), that the word count increased (12 students), their sentences were longer (10 students), and they had longer turns (5 students) (Murphey & Kenny, 1995).They also noticed that they had begun to use gestures and could express their feelings and manage a conversation more easily. An increased ability to help their partners was mentioned as well.

Students appreciate that other students are engaged in similar conversations while they are being taped. Initially one of their great fears was that everyone would be watching while they talked. The relative privacy of the event goes a long way toward relaxing them, yet students still seem to retain the appropriate amount of facilitative anxiety (Alpert & Haber, 1960) to get them to prepare for the videoing event.

Students also commented that they were not only learning language items from one another, but in more holistic ways they were also learning and appreciating their partners' attitudes toward English, effort in studying, speaking in a "loud clear voice," using an assertive style of talking and questioning, and making appreciative responses. In sum, they were getting the "big picture" of communication, and the videoing allowed them to look at it repeatedly and model it.

That students can see their progress over time is perhaps one of the greatest benefits of videoing. They find examples of their improvement, and that appears to motivate them to want to improve more. Not only does weekly analysis of their videoed conversations encourage metacognitive awareness, but writing semester reports also intensifies this awareness by allowing them to view their progress over time, something that is impossible to do without a record of their language performance.

The feedback instructions initially asked the students to count words and turns, as we thought that increased counts would indicate more fluency gains. However, we suggest that such increases were only indications of gains in fluency for lower-level students. The length of the turn is a more accurate indication for intermediate and advanced speakers, as one student noticed: "In the first conversation, I said only one sentence each time. But in the last one, I talked a lot and my partner also talked a lot. I think that's why the number of turns decreased." Thus, while word-counts did increase for 36 first-year students from 34 words per minuteper partner to 45 words per minute per partner in four-minute conversations with each partner (1995 data, student transcribed and counted),we have since found that the number of words and turns may level off in the low 40s as students tend to take longer turns and ask for details which elicit more elaborate replies from their partners, necessitating greater time for formulating responses. For example, a preliminary examination of our most recent data (January, 1997) shows that 36 second-year students used an average of 42 words per minute.

The most obvious change over time was in the students' attitudes toward speaking English, as evidenced in the following quotes:

> "Now, I have no hesitation to speak English in front of other people. This is the greatest thing for me through the videoing!!"
>
> "In V-2 [the last video] we were talking like foreigners! I think the videoing helped us a lot. The best way to learn English is by using it."

We also suggest that the noticing process motivated learners to set clear, attainable, short-term goals. These explicit goals "set mostly by the learner" have become part of the classroom routine and appear to enhance student motivation (Nunan, 1997). As one student wrote in July 1997:

> Watching my videos, I noticed several differences between them. First in V1 [the first video conversation], I didn't prepare anything to talk, so I haven't had any target words. And I didn't know much of shadowing, so my replies are often "yeah" and "oh . . .!". When I saw this, I felt ashamed. Shadowing is much better in V2 [the last videoed conversation in the semester]. . . . Second, in V1, I was very nervous. So I couldn't talk very much. but in V2, I was very relaxed. I laughed with my partner and had a good time. Relaxing is very important. I think I learned many things from videoing. . . . I am a little bit proud!

Discussion

While the VCSE procedure can potentially change the learning environment, there are certain obstacles to its implementation. The first is the cost of the equipment. Although prices of video cameras and VHS recorders are decreasing, the initial expense, not to mention the upkeep and repairs, may be beyond many school budgets. Storage and placement of the machines may also be a problem because of space and security restrictions. Then there is the question of the "teacher as technician," a role which some teachers may feel uncomfortable with due to their unfamiliarity with the technology or with the change in teaching style that it necessitates. Finally, the students themselves often find the recording procedure uncomfortable at first. They may be shy about "being on TV" and feel uncomfortable speaking to other nonnative English speakers in the target language. They may also be unused to collaborating with another person because of cultural expectations regarding the format of the traditional EFL classroom. Thus, it is natural for students to be a little reluctant at first, but that their objections are overcome within a few weeks only adds more support for the VCSE procedure. Students overwhelmingly wish to continue with the procedure after the first year.

While some preliminary data seems to support the effectiveness of the procedure (Murphey, Matsunaga, & Sasaki, in progress), more research is required. The preliminary data from the student weekly and term-end reports, follow-up questionnaires, and regular teacher observations supports the VCSE procedure as an effective CLT activity. Undeniably, language practice is increased by regular performance events (Murphey, 1996a) which provoke appropriate amounts of facilitative anxiety (Alpert & Haber, 1960). In addition, noticing is greatly facilitated by recording language which is otherwise "hear" and gone. Ellis (1995,p. 90) proposes that students need to be able to perform a comparative operation, a cognitive comparison, comparing what they have noticed in the input with what they are presently able to produce in their own output. Such noticing and cognitive comparison becomes easier to do when students can replay their conversations and study not only their own output but their partners' as well.

In reference to affect, students can do these cognitive comparisons with little risk of losing face with VCSE since they can watch their conversations privately. Learners can then plan to use noticed language items in future conversations and make future goals. It is suggested that metacognitive awareness (Flavell, 1979) of "How am I doing?" greatly increases the degree of control learners have over their learning. Creating such opportunities for noticing, cognitive comparisons, and the exercising of control seem to be the greatest advantages of VCSE. However, more research is needed to see to what degree the opportunities are taken.

It is further suggested that providing opportunities for noticing can train learners to be their own teachers and can promote learner autonomy (Holec, 1981; Karlsson, Kjisk & Nordlund, 1997; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Wenden & Rubin, 1987). The students are actually engaged in action research on their own learning as they plan conversations, practice them, are videoed, and then observe and reflect on their performance and make new plans for better results.

The VCSE procedure is also a way for teachers to get an "inside view" of what students are doing, to determine specifically what different students need, and to monitor improvement (instead of guessing as to the impact of instruction). Teachers are thus able to individualize feedback and conduct their own action research, seeing the result of their instruction from their students' actual performance. Involving the students in action research through regularly soliciting feedback has also been useful in discovering ways to improve the process. For example, when a few students watched their conversations with their friends or family members, this seemed to increase the importance of the videoing for them. Thus, this assignment has become a regular part of the course activities, and students are periodically asked to report on the feedback given to them by friends and family.

Finally, the procedure is an inviting subject for SLA research, generating a large amount of material for analysis. For example, from each semester there is over 6 hours of video material for each class and about 55 minutes (eleven 5-minute conversations) on the students' individual VHS cassettes. There are a host of ways to use the material for student and teacher research addressing various facets of SLA.

Conclusion

This article has described a procedure for videoing conversations for self-evaluation. We suggest that this activity intensifies preparation and practice for regular performance events and allows students to notice otherwise fleeting language input and output through replaying their own conversations on video. This form-focused input and output flooding that is appropriately negotiated among peers within their ZPDs theoretically allows for noticing to occur and creates authentic comprehensible input while at the same time encouraging "pushed" output .

In terms of the CLT teacher macrostrategies proposed by Kumaravadivelu (1993), the VCSE procedure clearly enables teachers to "create learning opportunities in class," to "utilize learning opportunities created by learners," to "facilitate negotiated interaction between participants," to "activate intuitive heuristics of the learner," and to "contextualize linguistic input." All of these are believed to contribute to effective language acquisition.

While the technology may seem expensive, the potential benefits are considerable. As VCSE is increasingly used for teaching and research, equipment makers may very well develop cheaper, more user-friendly configurations for educational purposes. However, we feel it already is an extremely useful pedagogical procedure adaptable to a wide variety of situations, as well as a potentially rich field in which to conduct SLA studies.

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Tim Murphey, Ph.D. Applied Linguistics (Switzerland), teaches at Nanzan University Graduate School and researches learner and teacher development. E-mail address: <mits@ic.nanzan-u.ac.jp>.

Tom Kenny, M.A. Linguistics, teaches at Nanzan University of Foreign Studies and from April 1998 at Nagoya University of Foreign Studies. He is interested in cognitive theories of second language acquisition. E-mail address: <kenny@nufs.nakanishi.ac.jp>.

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Reviews

Grammar in Mind and Brain: Explorations in Cognitive Syntax. Paul D. Deane. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992. 355 pp.

Reviewed by
Charles Adamson
Miyagi University

Grammar is a fascinating subject for most language teachers. Formal grammars, Chomsky's Transformational Grammar or the newer Government-Binding Theory or Halliday's Systemic grammar, for example, claim to present a formal abstraction of the structure of the language. There is, however, a problem here that is seldom mentioned. Logically, language exists in three places: [1] in the brain and mind of the speaker, [2] in the physical modifications of the space between speaker and listener, and [3] in the brain and mind of the listener. The formal grammars are based on a study of the language at [2]. This language is obviously more limited in scope than the language at [1] or [3], simply because it is only a sample of the language that could be produced or understood. Theoretically there could be an almost unlimited number of different grammars [1], each of which could generate the language at [2]. The same sort of relationship applies between the language at [3] and that at [2]. *Grammar in Mind and Brain* (*GMB*) changes this situation. *GMB* presents the first full-fleshed grammar based on the possibilities at [1] and [2]. The author calls the results Cognitive Syntax.

GMB is written for linguists and assumes a general knowledge of the field, especially Government and Binding. A reader without this knowledge would still find much interesting material but most of the arguments supporting the ideas would have to be taken on faith.

Deane begins by arguing that there are only two basic positions that we can take on the relation of grammar to the mind and brain. One position, that of cognitive and functional linguistics, is that language acquisition is a learning process and differences between linguistic processes and non-linguistic process are assumed to be a matter of degree. The second position, that of transformational linguists, is that there is a discontinuity between linguistic abilities and other domains. Deane calls this second position formalism or Chomskyan rationalism and says that the only way to refute it is to produce a working counter-example, a grammar that is based on general cognitive principles and directly related to specific aspects of brain function. Deane uses the remainder of the book to produce, explain and justify just such a counter-example.

Deane's discussion is fairly technical but straight forward. He begins by showing that at least some of the problems experienced by the formalist position in dealing with island constraints can be attributed to a need to account for the influence of attentional states and other general cognitive variables. He also develops the idea that syntactic processing is done by cognitive structures and processes that were originally applied to visually understanding physical objects. He then expands this idea into a general theory, The Spatialization of Form Hypothesis, which incorporates insights concerning image schemas, conceptual metaphors, natural categorization, cognitive understandings of the processes of memory and recall, and the theory of relevance. Specifically he employs the schemas of link, center-periphery, and part-whole which are used by the mind to characterize objects as integrated wholes.

After a long and finely detailed discussion, Deane uses the schemas to develop the outline of a grammar, a syntax, that uses four types of links between words/phrases. In c-links, or co-occurrence links, the subcategorized element can not appear as a phonological realization unless another grammatical element also appears. P-links, predication links, represent the dependency of the predicate on its arguments and thus show semantic relations. S-links, or identity of sense links, indicate that access to the sense of one lexical item presupposes access to the sense of the other. R-links, or referential links, show that one linguistic unit refers to another. The grammar consists of diagrams in which variables are linked to other variables in one or more of these four ways. He then applies the concept of activation and shows how activation will spread across links, labeling the finished network a schema. Finally the question of interaction between schemas is addressed, producing the outline of the full grammar. The value of the grammar is then demonstrated by a long series of detailed analyses in which the answers to previously unexplainable problems become obvious.

After developing the grammar, Deane returns to his proposal that human linguistic abilities are dependent on processing in brain structures whose primary function is the analysis of spatial structure. An examination of the literature locating the brain's ability to process spatial information provides a basis for the prediction that grammatical structure will be processed in the Inferior Parietal Lobe. Deane then uses aphasia studies to show that Cognitive Syntax conforms to the actual processing that is taking place in the brain.

Although still a hypothesis and not yet a theory, its potential value for language teachers is clear. A fuller specification of the grammar will present us with new, and hopefully more effective, opportunities for organizing our lessons. Detailing this is beyond the scope of this short review, so a single example will have to suffice. The schema which shows the subject relation in a sentence and the schema for possessives are the same, only the morphemes and grammatical categories are different. An enterprising teacher or text writer might be able to find some way of presenting the language to the student so that the once-learned schema could be cognitively reused, reducing the amount the student has to learn.

In conclusion, Deane's *Grammar in Mind and Brain* contains a ground breaking study that has the potential to become a classic. Anyone with a deep interest in linguistics, cognitive psychology or cognitive approaches to language learning will find this book, although extremely technical, well-worth the time needed to understand it.

Social Literacies: Critical Approaches to Literacy in Development, Ethnography and Education. Brian V. Street. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1995. 184 pp.

Reviewed by
William Bradley
Ryukoku University

For anyone interested in questions of literacy, both from a theoretical perspective and when applied in research and education, Brian Street's work over the past fifteen years or so has been instrumental in pushing debate on important issues such as the relation of oral and written language and how school practices mold consensus on what exactly it means to be literate in a particular society.

An earlier book, *Literacy in Theory* and Practice (1984), introduced Street's distinction between autonomous and ideological models of literacy, which is central in this book as well. The autonomous model, one that has been prevalent in many approaches to literacy, promotes a firm distinction between non-literate communities and societies where communication is achieved primarily through oral means and modern literate societies. In contrast, Street proposes an ideological model, one which places literacy (along with language and education) in the context of the social relations of a given community. He argues for the practice(s) of literacy being defined singularly with regard to features ly written and originally published between 1987 and 1990, Street covers a lot of the same territory as his earlier work. While Street is an anthropologist, this work is also important for sociolinguists and those interested in issues in education.

The book is organized into four sections, each containing two chapters. The four sections are: 1) Literacy, Politics, and Social Change, 2) The Ethnography of Literacy, 3) Literacy in Education, and 4) Towards a Critical Framework. While each chapter is a self-contained paper, there are brief linking introductions to each of the four sections, as well as a general introduction which guides the reader to understanding these developments in literacy studies or "New Literacy Studies," as Street has called certain strands of work, including his own as well as writers James Gee, Shirley Brice Heath, and Allan Luke among others.

Street's main theoretical argument stands in contrast to writers such as Ong (1982) and Olson, Hildyard, and Torrance (1985) who have advanced claims about the cognitive effects of literacy. These are referred to by Street as theories of the "great divide." Simply put, they consist of a set of associated claims that focuses on the effects of reading and writing on the cognitive structures and processes and which rewards literacy and literate people(s). Literacy is seen as following "a single direction [and its] development can be traced, and associate[d] with 'progress', 'civilization', individual liberty, and social mobility" (p. 29). Street acknowledges that earlier sweeping claims have been superseded by those that "now recognize that what is often attributed to literacy per se is more often a consequence of the social conditions in which literacy is taught" (p. 22). Nonetheless, he argues, there is still a strong tendency for illiterate and semi-literate individuals and communities to be associated with deficits of higher level cognitive abilities and powers of abstract conceptualization.

To begin to see the complications of this distinction, one can look at the pockets of illiterate communities that exist within many modern societies. They often go about their daily lives without, as Street shows using multiple examples from other studies, facing any major debilitation as great as that of the stigma which is placed on them by being categorized as "illiterate." Ironically, in some ways, this is the partially the result of campaigns to improve literacy skills and help the downtrodden.

Lack of Literacy (with a capital "L" as opposed to the plural conception of literacies promoted by Street and others) is often assumed, moreover, to be the unidimensional cause of economic backwardness. Such approaches are apparent in policy statements, exemplified in UNESCO during the 1990 International Literacy Year and by other development-oriented organizations. But they are so much part of the commonsense notions, according to Street, that even a radical educational theorist such as Paolo Freire is taken to task for work that is based on "similar assumptions about the ignorance and lack of self-awareness or critical consciousness of 'non-literate' people" (p. 20).

In contrast to these points of view, Street marshals an impressive amount of empirical evidence to argue that literacy is first and foremost embedded in complex social contexts. This is no less true of highly educated people in 'modern' societies than it is for those living in 'traditional' ones. Street emphasizes that, similar to the findings in Heath's (1983) research on three rural North Carolina communities, oral and written language are often inextricably bound together.

Street critiques the work of Deborah Tannen as an example of the way that more recent work has rejected simple dichotomies in oral and written language but "tend[s] to reintroduce the notion, albeit in a 'softer' guise" (p. 167). He follows this with specific examples of the kind of discourse analysis done by Tannen (1982) which associates speech with "involvement" and writing with "detachment." Similarly, Michael Halliday's distinction between spoken and written language on the basis of functional differentiation is questioned (p. 4). These are examples of how Street's work, while focused specifically on literacy, has broader implications for linguistics and education.

In the first chapter, "Putting literacies on the agenda," Street links some of the campaigns for greater literacy in industrialized countries to the problems of underemployment that exist in many of these societies. In the second chapter, several examples of case studies of literacy in changing societies are introduced and Street contrasts the unproblematized assumptions about the spread of literacy with attempts to understand how participants themselves see the meaning of literacy for their own lives. This section is followed by more detailed accounts in chapters three and four, beginning with his own studies in Iran in the 1970s and then addressing problems in cross-cultural studies. What is suggested in this chapter and throughout is that such a cross-cultural perspective in inevitably fraught with consequences that anthropology and cultural studies have been addressing for at least the past three decades. Richard Hoggart (1957), who later founded the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Britain, is cited here as part of another tradition which has studied how popular culture has been the site of a continuing struggle to control values through mass communications. Street, using his research in Iran, suggests that "not only does modern literacy foster uncritical belief in specific 'modern' renderings of the world, it also contributes to a weakening of the kinds of sensibility and skepticism that have been fostered in the oral tradition" (p. 66).

Street argues that anthropology, and cultural studies as a later hybrid development, have come to see notions of "a" culture, "the" culture and so forth as extremely problematic. They are the source of questions as to how power comes to be invested in their meanings as opposed to being evidence for defining societies unambiguously. Such a view is outlined by Street (1993) in detail elsewhere, however he implies that applied linguistics and second language education, while having assimilated the lesson that culture is attached to language (i.e. language can not be taught without referencing notions of culture), still retains much of the functional and essentialist logic in notions of a unitary culture which anthropologists have largely moved away from.

In chapter five, "The schooling of literacy," Street begins to address a more important area of concern for many who are involved in education, especially of language. How is it that single varieties of literacy become dominant and reproduced? How is it that language is often treated as a thing? Street suggests that the autonomous model of literacy is at work when writing and reading is privileged over speaking, rules for using language are handed down to students in forms of competencies to be mastered and language is disguised as neutral (p. 114).

In chapter six, Street addresses problems of a critical approach to literacy practices, referring to work by Fairclough (1992) as a similar attempt at locating language practices. In this chapter, he does address the problem of how educators can teach critical literacy, arguing against a "skills first" approach. It is probably significant that this is the last chapter written (based perhaps on an article with a similar name published in 1993 but for which there is no acknowledgment). Street raises this issue in a particularly blunt question, "when exactly will most students revise and criticize their school learning if not during the process of experiencing it?" (p. 140) On the other hand, those looking for specific advice may be disappointed that the chapter stays at the relatively theoretical level.

Chapters seven and eight basically recapitulate much of the argument that has been put forward in previous chapters. I would have preferred to read a broader attempt at a synthesis, especially since this section is described as a "critical framework." It is an overall strength of Street's work that he combines a robust theory with detailed examples from his own and others' work. It is slightly less convincing that he concludes this book with a framework which is less framework than critique. That is partially the result of assembling a set of separately published papers into a collected edition.

Another quibble, but it does seem redundant to have separate bibliographies at the end of each chapter, especially since many of the references are the same. Similarly in the acknowledgment section, two of the papers are referenced without their year of publication, information which is available in the other citation sections. Even Street's own work is cited with multiple publication dates. This edition could have profited from a little more editorial overview.

I found myself thinking of the relevance to teaching in Japan at many stages in this book. First, the assumptions of language tests, particularly those drawn on in making university English entrance exams, are well critiqued using the model of literacy that Street outlines here. In fact, Hill and Parry (1992) have done exactly this in proposing a different model of testing for TESOL.

Second, the way that reading is generally taught as a way of decoding text with little attention paid to alternative constructions of meaning is brought under scrutiny by Street's work. Many other perspectives, some associated with neo-Vygotskyian or constructivist models, others with whole language, have utilized oral communication in learning processes as a way of deepening understanding. Street's contribution is to show that dichotomies of oral and written language are lacking in many ways when compared to empirical evidence gathered across a broad range of societies. Finally, the arguments here leave little doubt that educators need to probe more deeply to uncover assumptions about how learning is constructed in school and the ends towards which it is directed. It should not be surprising to anyone who is familiar with using computers in classrooms that traditional models of literacy as, for instance, acquiring skills of decoding are being challenged by new forms of communication such as e-mail and the Internet, to give familiar examples.

I think this book will be of great value in helping those interested in framing the practices of teaching and learning languages in larger contexts. It is time, I think Street would say, that we look more closely, not only at literacy practice across the school system here in Japan, but also as it is constructed in the contexts of our teaching, and how it hinders many of our students from seeing their own acquisition of that language as more than simply the building of skills and grammatical competence, no matter how important one considers those to be.

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***Translating by Factors*. Christoph Gutknecht and Lutz J. Rölle. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996, xvi + 346 pp.**

Reviewed by
Andrew Jones
Impex, Inc.

Translation is one of the world's oldest professions, and one of the most abused—misused by those who do it and scorned by those who rely on it. Abuse directed at translators and their products frequently stems from translation clients not knowing what they have actually requested or failed to request. Clients may assume a "communicative" (free) translation and be bewildered when they get a "semantic" (literal) one, and then blame the translator for not elucidating the full meaning of the text. Abuse by translators comes in any number of forms, but often derives from the infirm foundation of translation studies—including not learning to ask clients what they expect and believing the often taught notion that grammatical analysis alone can be used when transferring the meaning, style, and feeling of one language into another. Many translation courses, in other words, continue to set up the would-be translator for more abuse.

The book under review offers some practical solutions to these problems. "Translating by factors" means approaching the translation process with a method that can be applied both in rendering source language (SL) into target language (TL) and understanding the relation between translator and client. Although their reference model is German and English modals (auxiliary verbs), the authors provide tools that can be used for translating between any languages and any form of language. Factors are indicators of interlingual similarities and differences, and 21 are covered in the book, including "blocking factors," which make specific TL renditions impossible, "disambiguation factors," which signal ambiguity in SL items, "divergence factors," which indicate where the TL has more forms than a corresponding SL item, and "change factors," which force translators to make changes because of variances between languages.

The authors show how to apply factors in terms of classical semiotics (Chapters 2-4), differences between spoken and written language (Chapter 5), translation units (Chapter 6), the translation situation (Chapter 7), and translation theory (Chapter 8). Because Gutknecht and Rölle progress systematically through these major problem areas confronting the translator or translatologist, the book is relevant for work and courses involving Japanese and other languages besides English and German. Furthermore, by covering a full range of techniques required in translation, the text provides a rich assortment of tools for research on factors, and so is an excellent resource to develop a "factor approach" for translation projects or training courses.

In addition to detailing factors in various situations, the work provides other important devices such as ingenious flowcharts, diagrams, and tables. In most translation books, the most one can hope for are matrices and scalar diagrams for componential analyses (CA), which are used to identify the components of SL word senses for "redistribution" in the TL (Newmark, 1988, p. 27). However crucial they may be to translation, CA only enlighten about individual words, not what to do with them. By explicating steps in the overall process—including how to create and apply CA—the authors have shown a way of making translation systematic. Diagrams 3.9-3.14 and 8.1 are of particular value since they present translation flowcharts showing how to apply factors in the areas of syntax, meaning, SL context, SL styles, TL styles, and TL lexemes, and the differences that can result when emphasis on these points is changed.

The book is also an antidote for the continued presence of grammar-translation and its manifestation in so many "writing" texts in Japan. When a sentence or larger text unit is analyzed using factors, it is hard to stop at grammar since many factors can only be fully exploited if the actual intent of the SL creator is seriously approached with pragmatic and other features in mind (p. 254). Take as an example the spoken sentence "He can hear her." This is quite clear grammatically, but considering the context (previously the speaker, a female, did not believe the man could hear her comatose daughter, and thus stressed the word "can"), the full intention conveyed by "can" and the cultural factors of the sex of the speaker, the relationship of the speaker to the hearer, and so on, would not be adequately conveyed if some compensation factors were not included.

In rendering "He can hear her" into Japanese, for example, translators would have to be aware that the simple "potential non-past" form of the relevant verb (*kikoeru*) does not convey the communicative force of a stressed "can" nor indeed does it indicate the factuality of hearing, and they would have to know (or infer) whether the sentence were spoken or written, the sex of the speaker, and who knows whom in the situation. All of these factors must be identified and compensated for, and this usually plays no part in a grammar-centered translation. Based on these and other factors, something like *Hontoni kikoerunda wa* might result for our example since it conveys all the information necessary for the Japanese. The translation works because of the use of a feminine emphatic particle (*wa*) and because it allows the speaker to sound refined by saying *hontoni* ("Really") rather than putting a more literal male-ish stress on the verb, and since all participants in the scene know of the existence of the others (as does the audience), the translation does not need the pronouns "he" or "she." On the other hand, if these factors are ignored and the grammar alone is carried across, the result would probably be an unidiomatic but "faithful" **Kare wa kanojo ga kikoeru* (* "She he hears") or the misleading *Kare wa kanojo no yutteiru-koto ga kikoetteiru* ("He can hear what she is saying"). The former non-idiomatic version sounds as though there were a question of who could hear whom and leaves vague whether he has been, is, or will be able to hear her, and the latter misleading rendition incorrectly assumes she is speaking words—since she is in a coma it is not known that she is "speaking" in any conventional sense.

Although the techniques discussed can be applied to languages that have many differences, there seem to be areas in German-English translation that are less important than when translating languages that do not share many communication traditions. In case of such "foreign" languages, more research is necessary to use the methods properly. One important area is ambiguity, which is obviously present in any interpretation situation, but apparently not as significantly in German or English as in Japanese, where ambiguity can be a signal of a request for further contemplation, a compliment to the intelligence of the receiver, and so on. Furthermore, in their discussion of translation units (Chapter 6), the authors stress that it is "sentence by sentence that the translator translates" (p. 233), and thus do not delve very deeply into the issue of what happens in paragraphs that do not follow any order to which the TL reader is accustomed. Discussing translation units larger than the sentence, the authors concentrate instead on why redundancy should be maintained (p. 235ff), seemingly unaware of the extraordinary degree and implication of repeating the same word in Japanese. On the other hand, their general advice that translators can make changes to enable understanding but not to facilitate it (p. 266) is universally sound because, among other reasons, the facilitation can easily go against intentions of the SL author to be vague, diplomatic, or simply difficult.

Finally, one of the best sections is Chapter 7, in which the authors show the factors involved in the translation situation, especially the power of the client. In most cases the translator works at the behest of some client (including teachers), and the client tends to rule. Thus, if a client wants a certain kind of result, the translator will usually work toward that end. Such requests act as a control on the range of factors that can be applied, in other words, the decisions the translator makes in rendering the text. For example, disambiguation factors must be considered if the client has demanded a communicative translation to get ideas in the SL across clearly to TL readers. This dependency on the client is one of the primary reasons for adaptations rather than translations—for reasons of survival if nothing else, translators tend to be more faithful to the client than the text (p. 267), and clients usually at least demand error-free, idiomatic, and stylistically superior renditions even when the SL is far from those ideals.

The authors suggest that the book is a "voyage of discovery in the human mind" (p. 10), and although *Translating by Factors* does function as a working guide to translating, one would have to say that discovery is more complex than knowing and applying factors to sentences, which is almost exclusively the area covered. The authors also propose (p. 10) that the study of modals involves the study of worldviews. This subject, which they never develop, is even more tempting in terms of the discoveries involved in the translation process, where views of life can and should be fully explored and brought over in the rendition. This type of study would be particularly relevant in Japan, where people are commonly taught negative consequences of such discoveries (loss of identity, for example) and thus often rest content with group tours through the boring but innocuous grammar byways of the language world. A focus on worldviews in the translation process could be a chance to see how one learns to appreciate and be adaptive to different cultures. Although the authors did not pursue these topics, they did provide excellent navigation tools to begin the voyage.

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***New Ways in Teacher Education*. Donald Freeman, with Steve Cornwell, Editors. Alexandria, Virginia: TESOL, 1993. xxvii + 206 pp.**

Reviewed by
Amy Peyton
Daiei Education Systems, Inc.

New Ways in Teacher Education, one volume in the New Ways in Teaching series, presents teacher educators in academic environments with practical workshop suggestions which encourage trainees to "develop their own independent, reflective practice as classroom teachers" (p. xi). This useful addition to any reference library contains 46 tried-and-trusted activities for teacher education workshops, authored by professionals from North America, South America, Asia, and Europe. The insightful introduction, penned by Donald Freeman, articulates the philosophy as well as the rationale of the text, and recounts how this mosaic of teacher education activities came to be. Both beginning and experienced teacher educators will find readable, innovative workshop suggestions applicable in many academic contexts.

New Ways in Teacher Education joins two editors and more than 40 contributors in the creation of a book that embraces the current, holistic trends of English language education: experiential learning, cooperative groupwork, learner-centered education, and reflective teaching. The purpose of the book is to help teachers "come to make sense of what they do" (p. xiii), and through activities that encourage learners-of-teaching to discover their own teaching belief system, the goal of the text is artfully realized.

The two main strengths of the book are in its variety and format. Since the book concentrates on workshop activities and not on theory, the editors have selected ideas to fit nearly every training possibility in university-style settings. The table of contents outlines training suggestions for single session, multi-session, preservice, inservice, and graduate school contexts. Furthermore, workshop activities listed in the table of contents are grouped under such engaging topics as: encouraging teacher as researcher, observation of teaching, developing awareness, addressing cultural issues, and structuring discussions. Other practical topics include: drawing upon a shared experience, using collaborative work, and interpersonal dynamics. By providing such innovative springboards, the text assures teacher educators of finding a suitable idea or framework for many training sessions.

New Ways in Teacher Education presents each activity in a logical, readable four-step layout: Narrative, Procedure, Rationale, and Caveats and Options. Beginning with the Narrative, the author gives readers a personalized summary of how the activity unfolds in the training session. This is followed by the Procedure, which articulates each step of the exercise in detail. Next, the Rationale gives the contributor the opportunity to briefly state his or her reasons for conducting the activity in that particular way. Lastly, Caveats and Options supplies the teacher educator with hints and adaptations to round out the experience, plus warnings to circumvent potential problems. In addition to this four-step pattern, most activities also include a bibliography of suggested readings and copies of necessary handouts.

The only criticisms of this text are that there isn't more of it—a double volume or Part II perhaps—and that it lacks the global perspective needed in a TESOL publication. More diverse sections would be advantageous: creating a chapter exclusively on training non-Western teachers, including a segment for use in public schools, or incorporating training suggestions from more non-native English trainers would truly make this text a staple for any backpack. Although the introduction states that the editors have "chosen not to focus on differences in context, experience or background," and claim that "the majority [of the activities] can be used in or adapted to different settings and groups of learners-of-teaching" (p. xii), the truth is that most of the workshop suggestions are geared towards teacher educators who have training contexts mirroring the book's Western-style logic, thought patterns, educational styles, and personality assumptions.

For example, the majority of the activities ask the workshop participants to delve deeper within themselves and reflect on their teaching. One activity in particular asks a group of teaching assistants to self-evaluate their mini-lectures, answering questions like: "What did I do well?" "Where could I have improved?" and "How could this improvement be implemented?" If the trainees' cultural background and academic knowledge prepare them to handle such tasks, this activity would successfully serve to activate awareness. However, if certain skills such as giving feedback and reflecting on one's abilities is unnatural or goes against cultural and social norms, the trainer will have to adapt this activity to ensure a comfortable environment for all involved.

In conclusion, in my present position as an instructor of English and teacher educator for Western teachers, I find this book to be an innovative, incredibly readable text which serves me well in my current teaching context. I often use it as a source of inspiration when I am in need of practical workshop suggestions which aim to stir awareness and build skill. Despite the reservations I raised above, if I ever have the opportunity to train those whose first language is not English, I will certainly take New Ways along, for the expertise contained in its pages and the possibilities it creates will only heighten the experience of all involved.

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Urban Edge Bldg. 5F
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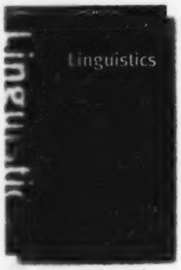
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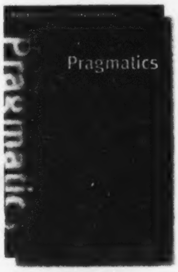
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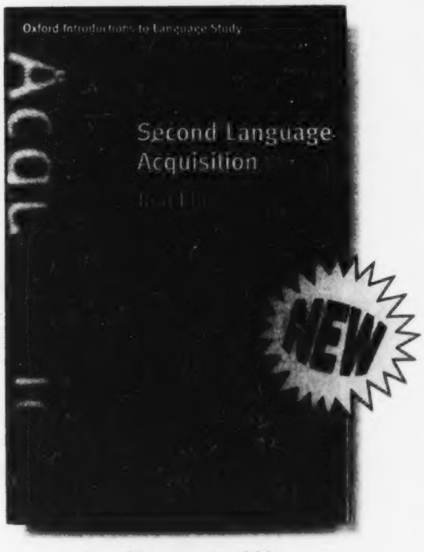
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JALT JOURNAL

November 1998
Volume 20 • No. 2
Japan Association for Language Teaching

Inside this issue:

EFL readability • Error correction
LANs in EFL writing classes • Kanji education
Product-driven writing projects
Intercultural communication

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Call for Papers

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Focus on the Classroom: Interpretations

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JALT Journal

Volume 20, No. 2
November, 1998

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The Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) is a professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language teaching and learning in Japan. It provides a forum for the exchange of new ideas and techniques and a means of keeping informed about new developments in the rapidly changing field of second and foreign language education. Established in 1976, JALT serves an international membership of more than 4,000, and there are 37 JALT chapters and two affiliates throughout Japan. JALT is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and is a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language).

JALT publishes *JALT Journal*, a semi-annual research journal, *The Language Teacher*, a monthly magazine containing articles, teaching activities, reviews and announcements about professional concerns, *JALT Applied Materials*, a monograph series, and *JALT International Conference Proceedings*.

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In This Issue

Articles

This issue contains four main articles. In the first, **James Dean Brown** reviews the concept of readability and its relationship to the cloze procedure. Common readability indices are presented and discussed, and a preliminary method for calculating the readability of EFL texts is introduced. **Shinichiro Yokomizo**'s Japanese-language article uses the five stages of Community Language Learning as a basis for determining the types of errors which should be corrected and for selecting the appropriate method of correction. **George Braine** and **Miho Yorozu** present a summary of research on the effectiveness of Local Area Network computers (LANs) in EFL writing classes in Asia compared with traditional forms of instruction. They conclude that LANs may not be superior to conventional classrooms for promoting writing proficiency. **Mary Flaherty** and **Mary Sisk Noguchi** measure the effectiveness of two methods of kanji instruction using adult L2 learners in JSL and JFL settings. Although the Component Analysis method promoted significantly higher retention in both settings, the authors suggest that an eclectic approach which combines elements of both methods might be most effective.

Point to Point

In the first of the two sets of exchanges in this section, two readers react to "EFL's Othering of Japan" (Vol. 20, No.1, 1998, pp. 49-82). **Paul Stapleton** and **James J. Scott** voice their concerns and author **Bernard Susser** replies. Next, **Charles Jannuzi** comments on "*Yakudoku* EFL Instruction in Two Japanese High School Classrooms" (Vol. 20, No. 1, 1998, pp. 6-32), and author **Greta Gorsuch** responds.

Perspectives

A product-oriented approach to teaching writing is described by **Christine Pearson Casanave**, who discusses key procedural and conceptual ideas and identifies a major role for visualization during the writing process. **Anne M. Shibata** examines the literature on intercultural communication, identifying the transformative function of classroom activities.

Reviews

This issue presents reviews by **Thomas Asada-Grant**, **Mary Baken**, **William Corr**, **Ron Grove**, **Lewis E. Haymes**, **Guy Modica**, and **Paul Nation**. Topics covered include second language learning theory, writing theory and pedagogy, grammatical and lexical variation, intonation, an overview of semantics, and collected essays on professional development. One review addresses the work of Steven Pinker on cognition.

From the Editors

A change of mastheads presents many challenges and the new editorial staff of *JALT Journal* will do its best to follow the tradition of excellence established by the previous editors as we take the *Journal* into the twenty-first century. We especially thank outgoing editor **Tamara Swenson** for her advice and encouragement during the transition period.

With this issue, **Sandra Fotos** takes over as editor and **Nicholas O. Jungheim** becomes associate editor in addition to his work as webmaster for *JALT Journal's* Internet site. We welcome the following new members to the Editorial Advisory Board: **Greta Gorsuch**, **Eli Hinkel**, **Guy Modica** and **Peter Robinson**. We deeply thank departing Board members **Ilona Leki**, **David Nunan**, **Thomas Robb**, and **Deryn Verity** for their years of service to the language teaching community represented by the *Journal*.

Conference News

The JALT 24th Annual International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning and Educational Materials Exposition, "Focus on the Classroom: Interpretations" is scheduled for November 20-23 at Sonic City, Omiya, Saitama-ken. Contact the JALT Central Office for information.

Corrections

Book review author Steve McCarty's name was incorrectly given in Vol. 19 (1). We apologize for any inconvenience this may have caused.
Author Dale Griffee notes that reliability information was missing from his article on questionnaire validation in Vol.19 (2) and adds the following sentence to the second paragraph on p. 193:

> The Confidence in Speaking English V.3 was administered in December, 1996 to an intact class of 21 students, with the resulting alpha reliability of .94.

There was a typographical error in the title of Bernard Susser's article in Vol. 20 (1), on p. 49. The corrected title should read: "EFL's Othering of Japan."

Portions of two sentences were omitted from the book review by William Bradley, Vol. 20 (1), on p. 144. The corrected sentences should read:

> He argues for the practices(s) of literacy being defined singularly with regard to features of communication within particular communities in changing social realities. In *Social Literacies*, a collection of papers mostly written and originally published between 1987 and 1990, Street covers a lot of the same territory as his earlier work.

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Articles

An EFL Readability Index

James Dean Brown
University of Hawai'i

This study explores readability and its relationship to the cloze passage performance of EFL students. Fifty reading passages were made into 30-item cloze passages by deleting every 12th word. Each passage was then analyzed for two sets of independent variables chosen to investigate how well they predict EFL Difficulty. The first set was made up of various first language readability indices and the second set was made up of quantifiable linguistic characteristics of the passages, such as the percent of function words, number of syllables per sentence and so forth. Correlational, factor, and multiple-regression analyses indicated that the first language readability indices were only weakly related to EFL Difficulty. However, the analysis of linguistic characteristics indicated clear groupings among the variables. In addition, when the number of syllables per sentence, the average frequency of lexical items elsewhere in the passage, the percent of words with seven or more letters, and the percent of function words were combined, they were highly related to EFL Difficulty. These results are discussed in terms of their implications for the development of an EFL readability index.

本論では、日本人英語学習者の英文難易度とクローズテスト結果との関係について考察する。50の英文をランダムに選び出し、それぞれ12語毎に30箇所の空所を設けたクローズテストを50個作成し、18校の日本人大学生英語学習者2,298名を被験者として、各学生にランダムに選び出したクローズテストを1つずつ与えた。次に、各クローズテストの平均得点をテストに使用した英文の難易度と考え、これを従属変数とし、次の2種類を独立変数として、その関係を分析した。1. 母語読者にとってのリーダビリティー推定値(Flesch, Flesch-Kincaid, Fry, Gunning, Fog, and modified Gunning-Fog) 2. 英文上の計量可能な情報（機能語の占める割合、1文あたりの音節数、1文節あたりの単語数、単語の出現頻度など）との相関分析、因子分析、重回帰分析の結果、1 の「母語読者にとってのリーダビリティー推定値」は、クローズテストの結果によって示された「英文難易度」とは弱い関係しか認められなかったが、2の「英文上の計量可能な情報」については、数種類の変数の組み合わせが興味深い結果を示した。特に、a) 1文あたりの音節数、b) 単語の平均出現頻度、c) 7文字以上の単語の占める割合、d) 機能語の占める割合、の4つの計量可能情報と「英文難易度」との間には、強い関係があることが確認された。これらの結果に基づき、本論では、外国語としての英文難易度推定方法の研究方向について考察する。

JALT Journal, Vol. 20, No. 2, November, 1998

The cloze procedure first appeared in the literature when Taylor (1953) investigated its value as a device for estimating the readability of materials used in public education. Research has also investigated the effectiveness of the cloze procedure as a measure of reading ability for native speakers of English, and, in the 1970s, a number of studies also explored the effectiveness of cloze as a measure of overall ESL/EFL proficiency (for overviews on cloze research, see Alderson, 1978; Oller, 1979). After brief discussion of these developments, this paper will review efforts that have gone on in both the first and second language readability literatures.

Cloze and Readability

In the first language literature, numerous studies indicate that cloze scores are moderately to highly correlated with various standardized reading comprehension tests (Bormuth, 1965, 1967; Crawford, 1970; Gallant, 1965; Ransom, 1968, Ruddell; 1964; Weaver & Kingston, 1963) with correlation coefficients ranging from .25 to .95 (see Brown, 1978 for a more detailed summary). These results indicate that cloze scores can provide reasonable estimates of reading comprehension ability for native speakers of English, at least as measured by standardized reading comprehension tests. As mentioned, the connection between cloze and readability was an issue when the cloze procedure was first introduced by Taylor (1953). Other studies including Taylor (1957), Bormuth (1966, 1968), Miller and Coleman (1967), Bickley, Ellington, & Bickley (1970), Moyle (1970), and Ransom (1968) all indicated that cloze was to some degree related to readability. Furthermore, in the second language literature, even more numerous studies indicate that cloze, if carefully developed, can be a sound measure of overall English language proficiency (Alderson, 1979, 1980; Bachman, 1985; Brown, 1980, 1984, 1988b; Conrad, 1970; Darnell, 1970; Hinofotis, 1980; Irvine, Atai & Oller, 1974; Mullen, 1979; Oller, 1972a & b; Oller & Inal, 1971; Revard, 1990; Stubbs & Tucker, 1974) with coefficients ranging from .43 to .91.

However, other researchers have criticized the use of cloze procedures, especially as a criterion-measure in readability studies. As Carrell (1987, p. 25) pointed out:

> . . . cloze procedure can be, and often is, misused as a criterion. The most common abuse is to use only one of the *n* forms of a fixed-ratio, every *n*th deletion format, to collect criterion data. Studies have shown that all *n* forms of and every *n*th fixed-ratio deletion cloze are seldom equal in difficulty.

Carrell's article does not make clear which studies have shown that different *n*th word deletion patterns seldom produce equal difficulties. Indeed, based on sampling theory, it would be reasonable to expect variations in difficulty such that the difficulties would only rarely be the same. The issue is not if they will differ but rather the degree to which they will differ beyond expectations within statistical sampling theory—an issue that, to my knowledge, has not been addressed in the literature.

Another critique, Carver (1977-1978, p. 31), felt that cloze was not a good criterion measure for readability indices because it depended on the ability level of the particular group of students involved. As he put it:

> Superficially, it may appear that cloze would provide an acceptable estimate of material difficulty level (Ld). Yet the cloze measure has an inherent disadvantage which precludes its being used as [a] standard for measuring language-knowledge difficulty of the material (Ld). Cloze is a rubber yardstick because the cloze difficulty estimate depends both upon the ability level of the particular group which was administered the cloze test, as well as the difficulty level of the material.

Carver's view condemns the value of cloze to pinpoint actual grade level difficulty of passages. However, it ignores the benefits to be derived from basing readability estimates on human performance and, in fact, does not condemn the usefulness of cloze to estimate the relative difficulty of passages.

Kintsch and Vipond (1979, p. 337) offer further criticism:

> The cloze procedure . . . is probably actually misleading. It measures the statistical redundancy of a text, which is a far cry from its comprehensibility. By that score, a high-order statistical approximation of English that nevertheless constitutes incomprehensible gibberish would be preferred to a well-organized text with less predictable local patterns.

In fact, if a cloze passage were based on highly redundant "incomprehensible gibberish," as suggested by Kintsch and Vipond, it would be reasonable to expect students to score relatively poorly on it. Cziko (1978) provided evidence of this when he showed that, in French, students performed significantly better on a normal cloze passage than they did on one that had the sentences scrambled. Furthermore, Kintsch and Vipond provide no support for their contention that the cloze procedure only measures statistical redundancy. Indeed, as noted above, research indicates that cloze assesses general reading comprehension for native speakers and overall English language proficiency for ESL/EFL students. However, little indication exists in the literature on cloze that researchers have any more specific ideas on what cloze measures--redundancy or otherwise. The point is that, even if one accepts the notion that cloze principally assesses the students' abilities to deal with redundancy, it can be argued (as I have elsewhere, see Brown, 1986) on the basis of the work of Goodman (1967) and Smith (1975, 1978) that the use of redundancy and prediction in taking a cloze test may be very similar to what goes on in the reading process.

Readability Indices

First language readability

Literally hundreds of readability indices have been created over the years. For overviews of the first language readability literature see Chall (1958), Klare (1963, 1984), or Zakaluk and Samuels (1988). For a review of the many uses to which readability indices have been put, see Fry (1987).

An entire literature discusses the effectiveness of these first language readability indices. However, one study (Brown, Chen, & Wang, 1984) was particularly influential in making me think that such readability indices might work. That study showed a strong degree of relationship between the Fry readability estimates and grade levels as determined by native-speaker performance. In that study, the Fry scale for SRA kit cards was compared with the grade levels previously established by the author of the kits (based on the performance of North American elementary school children). Table 1 shows the results of this comparison.

Table 1 gives the results for the 3A and 4A SRA kits, as labeled, to the left. The grade levels for each color within the kits are given in the second column. Each color designates the cards in one grade (or half grade) level as established by the performance of native-speaker students on those cards. Each color contains 12 to 14 cards. The statistics for the Fry scale readability estimates for the cards in each color are given in the four columns to the right. The mean Fry index for each color/grade level is fairly close to the actual grade level of the cards as established by student performance. Clearly, a strong relationship can be seen between the mean grade levels as estimated using the Fry scale and the grade levels as established on the basis of students' performances.

However, the Fry scale estimates shown in Table 1 are averages across 12 to 14 cards in each color and considerable variation exists in Fry readability indices among the cards within any given color/grade level as indicated by the standard deviation (SD), as well as by the low and high statistics given to the right of the table. Nonetheless, these results clearly indicate that an index like the Fry scale does have a striking relationship with the difficulty level of the materials for native speakers of English.

The first language readability indices of focus in this study are the Flesch reading ease formula (Flesch, 1948), the Flesch-Kincaid readabil-

Table 1: The Accuracy of First Language Readability Estimates Using the Fry Scale (Adapted From Brown, Chen, & Wang, 1984)

SRA Kit	Passage Grades Established By Student Performance	Fry Scale Estimate		
		Mean	*SD*	Low – High
3A	3.5	3.22	1.20	2 – 6
	4.0	4.56	1.42	3 – 6
	4.5	5.56	0.88	4 – 7
	5.0	6.44	0.73	5 – 7
	6.0	7.11	0.93	6 – 8
	7.0	8.22	2.17	6 – 13
	8.0	8.67	1.50	6 – 10
	9.0	9.56	1.67	6 – 12
	10.0	10.22	1.48	7 – 12
	11.0	10.11	2.15	6 – 12
4A	8.0	8.56	1.13	6 – 10
	9.0	9.44	0.88	8 – 10
	10.0	10.44	1.74	9 – 14
	11.0	11.11	1.83	7 – 13
	12.0	12.56	1.51	11 – 16
	13.0	13.11	3.30	9 – 17
	14.0	13.25	1.98	9 – 15

ity index (as described in Klare, 1984), the Fry readability index (see Fry, 1985), as well as the Gunning index, the Fog count, and a modified version of the Gunning-Fog readability index (see Larson, 1987).

Second language readability

In contrast to the vast amount of work that has been done on first language readability indices, very little has been done with regard to readability indices specifically designed for second language students. (For an excellent overview of readability issues directly related to ESL/EFL teaching, see Carrell, 1987.)

I was able to find only a few studies wherein readability was investigated in languages other than English. A readability formula was developed for Vietnamese (Nguyen & Henkin, 1982), and the Fry formula was applied to Spanish texts (Gilliam, Peña, & Mountain, 1980). In addition, Klare (1963, pp. 98-99, 272-274) surveyed nine other early studies of readability indices for French, German, Japanese, and Spanish.

In the ESL field, Haskell (1973) found that cloze successfully differentiated passages regardless of variations in passage length, scoring method deletion rate, etc. Hamsik (1984) studied the relationships between four different readability indices and student performance on cloze tests developed from the passages found in the Miller-Coleman Readability Scale (Miller & Coleman, 1967) and it should be noted that Miller and Coleman had themselves ranked the passages on the basis of the cloze scores of 479 American college students. Hamsik found that the readability formulas were appropriate for measuring ESL readability levels with rank order correlation coefficients ranging from .78 to .82 between the readability estimates and students' cloze performances.

However, on the whole, very little work has been done to establish any indices specifically tailored to second language learners' needs. Is such an index desirable? It seems to me that many situations arise in which second language materials developers do need to sequence reading and other materials according to readability difficulty level just like first language materials developers do. Often when that need has come up in my work, like other ESL/EFL specialists, I have fallen back on the first language readability indices and made the assumption that they would work equally well in my setting because the texts that I was judging for readability were first language texts.

In reading Carrell (1987), however, I began to realize that the first language readability indices might not be appropriate for ESL/EFL settings. As she rightly pointed out, a number of factors are left out of the first language indices that might be crucial to judging the readability of texts for second language learners. For one thing, reader-based variables are totally ignored by such first language formulas. Consequently, differences in readability that might arise from differences in learners' characteristics (in terms of language differences, education, age, or learning style, for instance) are not taken into account.

Even in considering text-based factors alone, Carrell (1987) pointed out that first language indices typically include no measures of syntactic complexity, such as the T-unit (Hunt, 1965), rhetorical organization, or "propositional density" (after Kintsch & Keenan, 1973). It occurred to me that additional factors might usefully be included in a second language readability index. From a lexical standpoint, several factors have seldom been considered in the first language readability indices; perhaps the type, function, and frequency of the words in a passage would be important factors in a second language index. For example, the type of vocabulary (e.g., the proportion of words of Latin origin as opposed to Germanic origin) might be an important consideration for ESL/EFL readers, particularly for students from Germanic or Latin language backgrounds or even for students from other language groups. The frequency of the vocabulary items within the passage itself (i.e., the redundancy), or the frequency of the vocabulary items in the language might also be important factors in second language readability. What about the type of passage? For instance, could important differences exist in the readability of straight prose passages in contrast to dialogs, or other types of texts? What about extra-textual factors? Do accompanying illustrations, diagrams, and charts make a passage more readable for second language students? What about language specific factors like the number of words in the language of the students that are loan words from English?

Purpose of this Study

These and many other questions ultimately lead to the study that is being reported here. To answer such questions, I decided to focus on two central issues. One purpose was to investigate the relationship between first language readability estimates and actual passage difficulties as established by EFL learners. In other words, I wanted to find out whether those indices were adequate for distinguishing EFL readability levels. A second purpose was to explore a wide range of textual and extra-textual characteristics which might help to predict the relative difficulty that EFL students have with different passages. In the process, every effort was made to keep an open mind so that the data would guide me into discovering any existing patterns rather than the other way around. Nevertheless, the following exploratory, open-ended research questions were posed at the outset of this study:

1. Are randomly selected cloze tests reliable and valid tools for gathering data on the linguistic text variables that may be related to passage difficulty?
2. To what degree are traditional first language readability indices related to the average cloze scores for the same passages (when they are administered to EFL students)?
3. What combination of linguistic text variables best predicts passage difficulty for EFL students?
4. How can this combination of linguistic text variables be used as an EFL Difficulty Estimate?
5. How does the EFL Difficulty Estimate compare to existing first language indices?

Since this research was exploratory in nature, the alpha level for all statistical decisions was set at a conservative < .01.

Method

Participants

This study focused on the performance of 2,298 Japanese university students who were all native speakers of Japanese. The participants, selected as intact EFL classes from 18 different colleges and universities across Japan, ranged in age from 18 to 24 and included 880 females and 1,418 males. A total of fifty cloze procedures were administered such that all students were randomly assigned across all testing sessions to their particular cloze passages. This was done so that the results of the different groups could reasonably be assumed to be equivalent across the fifty cloze procedures. An average of 45.96 students took each cloze, with a range of 42 to 50.

One problem with this study is that it focuses entirely on the performance of university students in Japan. Thus the results can only be generalized to Japanese university students. However, the fact that only one nationality was used can also be considered a strength of the study. In many studies in North America and other ESL settings, students with a variety of language backgrounds are mixed together. The results of such studies are difficult to interpret, at best, and cannot reasonably be generalized beyond the single institution in which the data were gathered. In addition, while the participants in this study are not a random sample of all Japanese university students, the sample is at least fairly large and homogeneous with regard to the nationality, language background, and educational level of the students.

Materials

The cloze procedures used here were based on texts which had been randomly selected from fifty randomly chosen books in the adult reading section of the Leon County Public Library in Tallahassee, Florida. A page was randomly chosen from each book and the actual passages were isolated by backing up to a logical starting point for a 400 to 450 word passage. Thus the passages were not 100 percent arbitrary. They were selected so that they would form sensible semantic units. Some passages were somewhat longer than 450 words because the stopping point was also determined by logical stopping points. In fact, the fifty passages ranged in length from 366 to 478 words with an average of 412.1 words per passage. The result was a set of fifty passages selected such that they can be assumed to represent the passages that would be encountered in the books found in a U.S. public library.

Once a passage was selected, every 12th word was deleted (for a total of thirty blanks) in order to create cloze procedures. The 12th word deletion pattern was used instead of the more traditional 7th word deletion pattern to make the items far enough apart so that performance on one item would minimally affect performance on other items. Generally, one sentence was left intact at the beginning of each passage and one or more sentences were unmodified at the end of each passage. Blanks were placed at the top of each passage for the student's name, sex, age, native language, and country of passport. Directions explained what the students must do to fill in the blanks and how the blanks would be scored. The net result was a set of fifty cloze procedures (see the Appendix for an example of the directions and 12 cloze test items taken from Test A in the pilot study reported in Brown, 1989).

The reliability estimates for the cloze tests used in this study indicate that most of the cloze tests were reasonably reliable, with values in the .70 to .80 range. However, the reliability estimates ranged considerably from one exceptionally low one of .172 to a high of .869 (for more details, see Brown, 1992 or 1993). The average of all fifty reliability estimates (using the Fisher *z* transformation) was .70. These reliability estimates are important in that the results of the study can be no more reliable than the measures upon which they are based.

A second very short ten-item cloze procedure was also created on the basis of the pretesting reported in Brown (1989). This cloze was modified using procedures similar to those described in Brown (1988b) so that only blanks that had proven very effective from an item analysis point of view were deleted. The purpose of this short cloze was to provide a common measure for making comparisons across the fifty groups of students.

The Importance of Randomization

Before moving to a description of the procedures used in this study, I would like to briefly discuss the importance of the notion of randomization. The passages were selected randomly from a public library and the blanks were selected on a semi-random basis (every 12th word). Based on sampling theory, the theoretical justification for this study depends on the notion that the fifty 30-item cloze procedures constitute a collection of fifty texts which are representative of all of the texts in the Leon County Public Library. The representativeness of these passages appears to be supported by study of the lexical frequencies. The lexical frequencies of the fifty passages were counted and compared to the frequencies published for the "Brown" corpus (Kucera & Francis, 1967; Francis & Kucera, 1982) and after being logarithmically transformed (for an explanation of the appropriateness of this transformation, see Carroll, 1967) were found to correlate at .93. Thus based on sampling theory and comparison of the lexical frequencies, I feel reasonably safe in assuming that these passages and blanks are representative samples of the English language, at least the English language written in the books found in a U.S. public library.

In addition, the fifty groups of students were randomly assigned to the cloze passages. As such, it can be assumed that the groups were about equal in overall proficiency. Additional support for this assumption is found in Brown (1993), where one-way analysis of variance results for a single 10-item cloze test that was administered across all fifty of these groups showed an F ratio that was very close to the base value of 1.00 and was not statistically significant ($F = 1.195$; $df = 49, 2248$; $p > .10$).

Procedures

The data for this study were gathered with the cooperation of a large number of Japanese, American, and British EFL teachers at 18 universities in various locations throughout Japan (see Note 1). The cloze procedures were photocopied and randomly distributed such that all students had an equal chance of getting any one of the fifty passages. They were administered by the teachers to their own students. The directions were read aloud and clarified as necessary. A total of 25 minutes was allowed for completing both the thirty-item and ten-item cloze procedures. According to feedback from the teachers, the 25 minute time limit proved sufficient.

The exact-answer scoring method was used throughout this study, which means that only the original word that had occupied the blank was counted as correct. This was justified because the results were not being reported to the students and because research indicates high correlations between exact-answer scoring results and other scoring procedures (Alderson, 1979; Brown, 1980).

Analyses

The analyses in this study were all based on two kinds of variables: a dependent variable and a number of independent variables. The discussion in this section will first cover these two categories of variables, then briefly list the statistical analyses that were used.

Dependent variable

EFL Difficulty, as a variable, was operationally defined as the mean scores on the cloze tests normalized by converting them to z values (relative to each other) then to percentiles. EFL Difficulty was the *dependent* variable in this study because it was the variable of primary interest in answering questions like the following: "To what degree are the traditional first language readability indices related to EFL Difficulty?"

and "What linguistic variables can best be combined to predict EFL Difficulty?" In other words, EFL Difficulty was the dependent variable because it was measured "to determine what effect, if any, the other types of variables may have on it" (Brown, 1988a, p. 10).

Independent variables

The ***independent*** variables in this study were chosen because, in one way or another, they were factors which were potentially related to the EFL Difficulty dependent variable and because they were quantifiable in some way or other. In other words, the independent variables were selected because they might statistically explain, at least in part, the varying difficulty levels of the cloze passages in this study. Only ten independent variables have survived to be part of this report; these fall into two subcategories: (a) six first language readability indices and (b) four second language linguistic predictor variables (that is, those four linguistic variables that proved to have meaningful, yet non-redundant relationships with the dependent variable).

The clearest way to explain the ***first language readability indices*** is to provide the formulas that define them. For instance, the formula for the Flesch reading ease index is as follows:

1. Flesch Reading Ease Formula (Flesch, 1948)
   = 206.835 - .846 (syllables/words) - 1.015 (words/sentences)

This formula simply means that you must calculate the average number of syllables per word (syllables/words) and the average number of words per sentence (words/sentences). Next, multiply the average number of syllables per word by .846 and subtract the result from 206.835. From that result, subtract 1.015 times the average number of words per sentence. The other readability indices work in similar manner:

2. Flesch-Kincaid Index (as cited in Klare, 1984)
   = .39 (words/sentences) + 11.8 (syllables/words) - 15.59
3. Fry Grade Level (Fry, 1977, or 1985)
   = on the Fry reading graph, the grade value at the point where the coordinates for sentences per 100 words and syllables per 100 words cross
4. Gunning Index (as cited in Carrell, 1987)
   = .4 (words/sentences + % of words over two syllables)

5. Fog Count (as cited in Carrell, 1987)

$$= \frac{\left[\dfrac{\text{easy words} + 3\ (\text{hard words})}{\text{sentences}} - 3\right]}{2}$$

6. Gunning-Fog Index (Larson, 1987)

$$= \text{words/sentences} + 100 \times \left[\frac{\text{long words/sentences}}{\text{words/sentences}}\right]$$

A large number of second language linguistic predictor variables were also investigated in this study. Some of the simplest counts were the number of characters per word, syllables per word, syllables per sentence, words per sentence, syllables per paragraph, words per paragraph, and sentences per paragraph. Two measures of syntactic complexity were also included: words per T-unit (see Hunt, 1965; Gaies, 1980) and syllables per T-unit. Some lexical frequency variables were also added (as average frequencies): average frequency of the deleted words elsewhere in the cloze blanks, average frequency of the deleted words elsewhere in the passage in which they were found, average frequency of deleted words elsewhere in the 50 passages of this study, and average frequency of the deleted words in the Brown corpus (see Kucera & Francis, 1967; Francis & Kucera, 1982). Other lexical variables were calculated as percents: the percent of long words (seven or more letters), percent of function words, percent of Germanic root words. In addition, several learner-related variables were calculated as percents: percent of loan words to Japanese (based on Miura, 1979), and percent of Japanese Ministry of Education basic 507 words that junior high school students should know. Rhetorical organization was not studied here, but passage type was (i.e., whether the passage was straight prose or included a dialog). Finally, the presence or absence of illustrations (including pictures or diagrams) was an extra-textual variable that was considered.

Many of the variables and readability indices in this study were quantified and calculated using three software programs: *Scandinavian PC Systems* (1988), *Que Software* (1990), and *PC-Style* by Button (1986).

Out of all of the variables examined in this study, only a small subset survived. The surviving variables were selected on the basis of correlation, factor, and regression analyses as being orthogonal and most important in predicting EFL Difficulty. This does not mean that the other variables had no value, but rather that, in comparison to those variables that survived, they were relatively less important in predicting passage difficulty for Japanese university students. In other words, the relative importance of the above listed variables might have been quite different if the students had been different (i.e., had been older, had been Spanish speakers, etc.).

Of the three types of variables suggested by Carrell (1987), syntactic complexity (using T-units) and learner-related variables did not turn out to be very strongly related to EFL Difficulty in this particular study (as they were operationalized here). However, syllables per sentence and the percent of long words, which are both factors that show up in many of the traditional indices, did prove to be useful predictors of the relative difficulty of the passages for Japanese university students. In addition, two other factors related to the frequency and type of lexis were introduced in this study; these two variables, passage frequency and percent of function words, are not variables associated with traditional readability indices, but they did turn out to be useful in predicting the relative difficulty that students had with the fifty passages involved here.

To be specific, the subset of variables which survived to be included in the ensuing analyses are the following:

1. Syll/Sent	The average number of syllables found in the sentences in each passage.
2. Pass Freq	The average frequency with which the correct answers in the 30 blanks appeared elsewhere in the passage.
3. % Long Words	The percent of words that contained seven or more letters in the passages.
4. % Func Words	The percent of function words among the 30 deleted words in each passage. The remaining words were content words. Function words included articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and auxiliaries. Content words included nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

Statistical analyses

The statistical analyses in this study included descriptive statistics for the fifty cloze tests and for the dependent and independent variables just described. At certain points Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were used to investigate the degree of relationship between various pairs of the variables in this study. Factor analysis techniques, including principal components analysis and Varimax rotation, were used to investigate the degree to which variables were orthogonal (independent of each other). Finally, multiple regression analysis was used to investigate the degree to which combinations of the independent variables listed above could be used to predict the EFL Difficulty dependent variable.

Results

The descriptive statistics for the fifty sets of cloze passages are given in Table 2, which describes the overall test characteristics for all fifty cloze tests in terms of the mean, standard deviation (SD), minimum score obtained (MIN), maximum score (MAX), the number of participants who took the particular cloze (*N*), and the internal consistency reliability of the test (using the odd-even split-half method adjusted by the Spearman-Brown formula for full test reliability). In addition, the EFL Difficulty levels are reported in the column furthest to the right. Recall that these EFL Difficulty levels are simply the means converted to standardized percentiles (for passages relative to each other).

One salient result which surfaces in Table 2 is that the means of the fifty cloze tests range from 1.020 to 9.918. For reasons that are explained above, the groups can be assumed to be about equal in overall proficiency. Therefore, the variation among the means reported in Table 2 surely indicates considerable variation in the difficulty of the passages rather than differences in proficiency among the groups. Note that, for tests with 30 items each, these means are fairly low. However, such low means are common for cloze tests which have been scored by the exact-answer method.

Notice also the wide range of standard deviations, from a low of 1.247 to a high of 4.435. Such a range of standard deviations suggests considerable variation in the degree to which the students' scores were dispersed around the means on these cloze tests. The minimum (MIN) and maximum (MAX) indicate similar variations with the minimum ranging from 0 to 4 and the maximum ranging from 3 to 21. The number of participants on each cloze passage also ranged from 42 to 50. The reliability of the 50 cloze tests likewise varied considerably. Notice that the lowest internal consistency reliability was .172, while the highest was .869. Finally, the EFL Difficulty levels show the difficulty of each of the passages relative to all other passages in percentile terms with the most difficult having the highest percentiles.

Table 3 focuses on the statistical characteristics of the first language readability indices examined in this study. Notice that, rather than being arranged by passage number as they were in the previous table, the passages are arranged here from the most difficult to the easiest as indicated by the EFL Difficulty in the second column. The remaining

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for 50 Cloze Passages

Passage	Mean	*SD*	Min	Max	*N*	Reliability	EFL Diff.
01	5.229	3.164	0	15	48	0.708	30.15
02	4.208	3.421	0	13	47	0.858	48.40
03	2.021	2.126	0	10	48	0.735	83.40
04	7.543	3.866	2	16	46	0.803	5.59
05	3.979	2.787	0	13	47	0.734	52.39
06	5.106	3.230	0	14	47	0.803	32.28
07	6.140	3.407	0	16	43	0.825	17.36
08	3.156	2.270	0	8	45	0.457	67.00
09	2.848	2.458	0	11	46	0.773	71.90
10	2.543	2.310	0	8	46	0.825	76.42
11	5.935	3.358	0	16	46	0.742	20.05
12	8.980	3.967	0	21	47	0.789	1.22
13	2.870	1.714	0	8	46	0.503	71.57
14	3.234	2.503	0	9	47	0.682	65.91
15	9.180	3.416	4	18	49	0.683	0.96
16	1.360	1.411	0	6	48	0.650	89.80
17	1.383	1.247	0	5	46	0.348	89.62
18	1.020	1.086	0	3	50	0.500	92.36
19	4.760	2.881	0	10	50	0.701	38.21
20	4.375	3.238	0	15	47	0.855	45.22
21	9.918	4.435	0	19	48	0.840	0.37
22	3.702	2.858	0	11	47	0.841	57.53
23	3.638	2.401	0	11	43	0.646	58.71
24	2.957	2.259	0	9	47	0.436	70.19
25	5.362	2.740	0	12	46	0.627	28.10
26	2.681	1.559	0	5	47	0.172	74.54
27	2.340	2.723	0	13	47	0.869	79.39
28	2.581	2.170	0	8	43	0.574	76.11
29	2.318	1.768	0	7	44	0.640	79.67
30	9.563	3.284	3	16	48	0.715	0.59
31	3.783	3.078	0	15	46	0.832	55.96
32	3.833	2.525	0	9	42	0.770	55.17
33	2.136	1.866	0	6	44	0.633	81.86
34	5.867	2.918	0	13	45	0.819	20.90
35	6.630	3.662	0	17	45	0.719	12.30
36	5.000	2.054	0	9	46	0.505	34.09
37	5.458	3.657	0	13	48	0.767	26.76
38	1.708	1.567	0	8	48	0.746	86.65
39	2.511	1.977	0	9	47	0.648	77.04
40	3.488	1.897	0	9	43	0.659	61.41
41	2.870	2.507	0	10	43	0.764	71.57
42	4.409	3.099	0	18	44	0.811	44.43
43	1.432	1.452	0	7	44	0.190	89.25
44	3.239	2.521	0	10	46	0.673	65.54
45	6.548	3.874	0	16	42	0.788	12.92
46	2.163	1.816	0	7	47	0.307	81.59
47	3.791	2.328	0	11	43	0.685	55.96
48	2.690	2.121	0	11	42	0.738	74.54
49	4.564	2.808	0	11	49	0.748	41.48
50	2.488	2.697	0	12	45	0.774	77.34

Table 3: First Language Readability Estimates for 50 Passages

Passage	EFL Diff.	Flesch	Flesch-Kincaid	Fry	Gunning	Fog	Gunning-Fog
18	92.36	9.69	12.7	12	6.06	9.70	40
16	89.80	8.90	13.0	9	8.99	15.72	50
17	89.62	15.60	20.4	14	9.78	18.83	58
43	89.25	11.51	13.9	10	9.72	15.16	43
38	86.65	11.01	12.9	11	8.13	12.95	42
03	83.40	2.83	4.8	3	3.25	3.51	21
33	81.86	13.82	16.3	12	11.01	20.82	59
46	81.59	8.78	11.2	9	5.80	8.50	34
29	79.67	13.58	16.0	11	11.00	17.25	46
27	79.39	9.36	10.0	9	7.20	11.02	38
50	77.34	18.51	21.3	15	13.48	25.35	64
39	77.04	5.09	6.7	6	5.81	7.54	27
10	76.42	11.86	15.2	10	9.61	15.76	46
28	76.11	12.00	14.4	14	8.23	14.48	49
26	74.54	13.95	16.6	14	9.05	16.67	54
48	74.54	8.51	11.2	8	6.95	11.59	44
09	71.90	12.30	15.3	12	9.34	16.11	49
41	71.57	12.26	14.3	12	9.33	15.47	47
13	71.57	10.65	12.1	10	8.83	13.53	40
24	70.19	10.69	13.1	10	8.95	13.61	40
08	67.00	8.46	11.2	8	7.83	11.43	36
14	65.91	4.79	8.5	6	4.26	5.45	27
44	65.54	11.60	13.9	11	7.81	12.69	43
40	61.41	5.69	8.1	6	5.47	7.53	30
23	58.71	11.45	13.9	13	7.35	12.54	46
22	57.53	8.97	10.8	9	7.16	10.67	37
47	55.96	9.99	11.9	9	8.24	12.70	40
31	55.96	8.13	11.6	10	5.26	8.09	37
32	55.17	7.80	9.6	8	5.94	8.13	30
05	52.39	11.00	13.9	10	6.57	10.38	40
02	48.40	10.71	13.5	13	6.07	10.04	42
20	45.22	8.30	10.8	8	7.03	10.24	35
42	44.43	7.10	9.1	8	5.19	7.17	31
49	41.48	7.59	10.3	7	8.19	12.00	37
19	38.21	8.27	10.2	8	6.40	9.42	35
36	34.09	7.88	11.3	8	5.82	9.37	40
06	32.28	5.18	7.0	6	4.11	5.22	27
01	30.15	6.78	9.6	7	6.15	8.65	32
25	28.10	7.72	10.2	7	7.09	9.69	31
37	26.76	6.03	8.6	2	6.81	9.26	31
34	20.90	10.69	12.8	10	8.48	13.38	42
11	20.65	2.71	5.0	3	3.05	3.22	20
07	17.36	9.37	9.9	10	6.07	10.08	43
45	12.92	8.47	11.1	8	6.72	10.06	36
35	12.30	3.69	4.8	4	4.09	4.79	22
04	05.59	5.95	7.6	6	6.41	8.41	28
12	01.22	8.59	11.0	10	5.67	8.09	32
15	00.96	9.69	12.0	10	6.41	9.98	38
30	00.59	4.63	6.5	5	5.08	6.03	22
21	00.37	4.74	7.5	5	4.85	5.91	24

columns give the readability estimates for each passage using the Flesh, Flesch-Kincaid, Fry, Gunning, Fog, and Gunning-Fog indices. Notice that all of the indices except the Gunning-Fog index are on scales that resemble the grades in U.S. public schools. Notice also that, in some cases, they are fairly comparable across indices. In addition, note that the indices indicate similar relative difficulties for the passages. In other words, a passage that appears to be relatively easy on one index is also relatively easy on the other ones, while a passage that appears to be relatively difficult on one index is also relatively difficult on the others.

Table 4 shows the simple correlation coefficients above the diagonal (a line drawn from the upper left value of 1.00 to the lower right value of 1.00) and coefficients of determination below the diagonal for all possible pairs of the first language readability estimates used in this study. The coefficients of determination are calculated by squaring the correlation coefficient, and they indicate the percent of overlapping variance between the two variables involved. Thus the correlation coefficient of .48 shown above the diagonal in Table 4 between the Fry index and Observed EFL Difficulty can be interpreted as indicating that 23 percent (.48 ≤ x 100 = .2304 x 100 = 23.04, or about 23 percent) of the variance in EFL Difficulty is accounted for by the Fry index. These squared values are shown below the diagonal.

Notice that the coefficients of determination are mostly fairly high with the lowest being .49 and the highest being .96. These relatively high coefficients indicate that the first language readability indices (vari-

Table 4: Correlation Coefficients (Above the Diagonal) and Correlation Coefficients for First Language Readability Indices and EFL Difficulty

A. Observed EFL Difficulty	1.00	0.74	0.50	0.52	0.48	0.50	0.54	0.55
B. ESL Diff. Estimate	0.55	1.00	0.70	0.72	0.66	0.66	0.70	0.73
1. Flesch	0.25	0.49	1.00	0.98	0.92	0.89	0.93	0.95
2. Flesch-Kincaid	0.27	0.52	0.96	1.00	0.90	0.87	0.92	0.95
3. Fry	0.23	0.44	0.85	0.81	1.00	0.70	0.78	0.88
4. Gunning	0.25	0.44	0.79	0.76	0.49	1.00	0.98	0.87
5. Fog	0.29	0.49	0.86	0.85	0.61	0.96	1.00	0.95
6. Gunning-Fog	0.30	0.53	0.90	0.90	0.77	0.76	0.90	1.00
	A	B	1	2	3	4	5	6

ables 1 through 6 in the table) are all fairly highly related to each other. In other words, they are lining up the relative difficulty of the passages in very similar ways.

The long thin rectangle (on the left side) outlines those coefficients of determination which show the percent of relationship between the various first language readability estimates and the observed performance of Japanese students on the cloze passages, as represented by the observed EFL Difficulty percentiles (variable A). It turns out that the first language indices overlap between 23 and 30 percent (depending on which one is examined) with the variance in observed EFL Difficulties. In short, these first language readability indices account for less than thirty percent of the variance in the observed EFL Difficulty levels.

A large number of linguistic variables were also examined for relationship to EFL Difficulty. Four of these variables were selected on the basis of factor analysis as being orthogonal: syllables per sentence, average frequency elsewhere in the passage of the words that had been deleted, the percent of long words of seven letters or more, and the percent of function words. When combined, they proved to be the best predictors of observed EFL Difficulty. The descriptive statistics for these four independent (predictor) variables and the dependent (predicted) variable, EFL Difficulty, are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics for the Predicted and Predictor Variables

Variable	Mean	*SD*	Minimum	Maximum
Predicted				
EFL Difficulty	53.02	28.12	.37	92.36
Predictor				
Syll/Sent	36.95	12.62	15.57	76.63
Pass Freq	6.96	0.59	5.66	8.82
% Long Words	20.52	5.94	9.89	34.33
% Func Words	31.55	8.17	13.33	50.00

The degree to which the independent variables listed in the previous paragraph were collectively related to EFL Difficulty was investigated using multiple-regression analysis. The assumptions underlying multiple regression were checked and found to be met. A forward-stepping multiple-regression analysis was calculated for the four variables regressed against EFL Difficulty. The results of this regression analysis

Table 6: Stepwise Regression Analysis of Four Independent Variables Predicting the EFL Difficulty Dependent Variable

Prob Value To Add/Remove: 0.1000

Dependent Variable: EFL Difficulty

Step 1	*MR* = .5506	*MR≤* = 0.3032	Added Syll/Sent
Step 2	*MR* = .6699	*MR≤* = 0.4487	Added Pass Freq
Step 3	*MR* = .7168	*MR≤* = 0.5138	Added % Long Words
Step 4	*MR* = .7418	*MR≤* = 0.5502	Added % Func Words

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	Standard Error	*T*	Prob
Syll/Sent	0.7823	0.351189	0.2793	2.8014	0.0075
Pass Freq	-126.1770	-0.520334	27.3129	-4.6197	0.0000
% Long Words	1.2878	0.272007	0.6117	2.1051	0.0409
% Func Words	0.7596	0.220810	0.3982	1.9076	0.0628

Estimated Constant Term:	38.7469
Standard Error Of Estimate:	19.6800

are presented in Tables 6 and 7. Table 6 shows the technical results of the regression analysis including the progressive additivity of the multiple correlation (MR) and multiple coefficient of determination (*MR≤*). Note that the overall analysis of variance results were deleted for economy of space, but $F = 13.7618$, *df* 4, 45, $p < .00001$. For each independent variable, Table 6 also gives the regression coefficients, standardized coefficients, individual standard errors, *t* value at entry, and the probability associated with *t*. Finally, the constant, and an overall standard error of estimate for the predicted values of EFL Difficulty are given in the lower-left corner. Table 7 illustrates the progressive

Table 7: Summary of the Variables Contributing to the Stepwise Regression Coefficients

Dependent Variable	=	Independent Variables	*MR*	*MR≤*
Pass Diff	=	Syll/Sent	.55	.30
Pass Diff	=	Syll/Sent + Pass Freq	.67	.45
Pass Diff	=	Syll/Sent + Pass Freq + % Long Words	.72	.51
Pass Diff	=	Syll/Sent + Pass Freq + % Long Words + % Func Words	.74	.55

additivity of the variables and the associated multiple correlations (*MR*) and the multiple coefficients of determination (*MR≤*).

These results indicate that the combination of Syll/Sent + Pass Freq + % Long Words + % Func Words taken together produce a multiple-correlation (*MR*) of .74 and a corresponding *MR≤* of .55. This means that the combination of simple countable independent variables taken together predicts about 55 percent of the variance in the performance of Japanese students on the 50 cloze passages in this study. In other words, the results here indicate that each of the independent variables separately is related to EFL Difficulty and that, taken together, they account for 55 percent of the variance in EFL Difficulty.

Discussion

The discussion will now return to the original five research questions. The implications of these findings for second language readability estimation will then be covered in the Conclusions section.

1. Are randomly selected cloze tests reliable and valid tools for gathering data on the linguistic text variables that may be related to passage difficulty?

Based on Table 2, the cloze passages used in this study appear on average to be moderately reliable at .70 using the adjusted Split-half method, but also, individual tests can clearly vary considerably in reliability from .172 to .869. To some degree, such variation in reliability appears to be related to the magnitude of the means and standard deviations involved. However, all of these variations in descriptive statistics and reliability could conceivably have occurred by chance alone.

For the purposes of this study, the validity of the fifty cloze passages will be considered from a fairly common-sense point of view. First, the cloze passages were created from books which were randomly selected from a public library, and the items for each passage were selected semi-randomly (i.e., every 12th word deletion). Based on sampling theory, the passages can be said to be a representative sample of the language found in the books in the library from which they were taken, and the items can be said to provide a representative sample of the blanks that could be created in the language contained in the passages. Since the validity of a test can be defined as the degree to which it is measuring what it purports to be measuring, it seems reasonable to claim a high degree of content validity for these cloze passage items because they can be said to be representative samples of the universe of all possible items (after Cronbach, 1970) if that universe is defined as single-word blanks created in the written language which is found in a U.S. public library. For much more discussion of the reliability and validity of these passages, see Brown (1993); for an overview of test reliability and validity issues, see Brown (1996).

2. To what degree are traditional first language readability indices related to the average cloze scores for the same passages when they are administered to EFL students?

Tables 3 and 4 both indicate that some degree of relationship exists between each of the first language readability indices and EFL Difficulty. More specifically, the first language readability indices used in this study are related to EFL Difficulty at between 23 and 30 percent—at least as EFL Difficulty is measured by the performance of Japanese university students on the cloze passages. The first language readability indices also appear to be highly interrelated with each other, producing coefficients of determination of .49 to .96, which indicate 49 to 96 percent overlapping variance.

Aside from the fact that first language readability indices are not very highly related to the EFL Difficulty, another problem with these first language readability indices is that they use grade levels (in American schools) as their yardstick. Such grade levels do not make sense for second language students. Grades are different from country to country. Even within the United States, the meaning of reading levels at different grades may have changed in recent years with fewer and fewer students reading at or above their own grade level. Instead, any EFL Difficulty Estimate should probably be referenced to a specific population in percentile terms. Such estimates will therefore be population specific, and that is perhaps as it should be.

3. What combination of linguistic text variables best predicts passage difficulty for EFL students?

The variables that best predicted EFL Difficulty, at least for the population of Japanese university students, were Syllables/Sentence, Passage Frequency, % Long Words, and % Function Words (see Table 6 and 7). This combination of independent variables produced a multiple correlation of .75 with the dependent variable. Its squared value, the multiple coefficient of determination, indicated that the four variables taken together account for about 55 percent of the variance in EFL Difficulty. Of course, such results must be interpreted very cautiously. For instance, these results do not necessarily mean that these same variables in the same order will be found to be the best predictors in a replication of this study. In addition, many of the other variables examined in this study might have been used in this formula. The fact that these particular variables were chosen was based on a factor analysis, which indicated that four orthogonal factors existed in the correlation matrix of dozens of independent variables. For those four factors, the variables listed above were the ones most strongly correlated with the factor.

4. How can this combination of linguistic text variables be used as an EFL Difficulty Estimate?

Like many of the first language readability indices, the EFL Difficulty Estimate can be calculated by using a regression equation. In this case, the regression equation for predicting a single dependent variable (Y) takes the form of a constant (a) and four independent variables (X1 to X4) with their associated slopes (b1 to b4). Such an equation would take the following general form:

$$Y = a + b1X1 + b2X2 + b3X3 + b4X4$$

In more familiar terms, the regression equation for predicting, or estimating, the single dependent variable (EFL Difficulty) is formed by using the constant (shown to be 38.7469 shown in Table 6), as well as the four slopes (called regression coefficients in Table 6) and the values for each of the four independent variables (Syllables/Sentence, Passage Frequency, % Long Words, % Function Words). The equation in this case would take the following form:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{EFL Difficulty Estimate} = 38.7469 &+ (.7823 \times \text{Syll/Sent})\\ &+ (-126.1770 \times \text{Pass Freq})\\ &+ (1.2878 \times \%\ \text{Long Words})\\ &+ (.7596 \times \%\ \text{Func Words})\end{aligned}$$

For instance, the equation for the EFL Difficulty Estimate for Passage 43 (where Syll/Sent = 76.63; Pass Freq = .41; % Long Words = 19.22; and % Func Words = 23.33) would be as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{EFL Difficulty Estimate} = 38.7469 &+ (.7823 \times 76.63)\\ &+ (-126.1770 \times .41)\\ &+ (1.2878 \times 19.22)\\ &+ (.7596 \times 23.33)\end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}\text{EFL Difficulty Estimate} = 38.7469 &+ (59.9476)\\ &+ (-51.7326)\\ &+ (23.7515)\\ &+ (17.7215)\end{aligned}$$

$$\text{EFL Difficulty Estimate} = 89.4349 \quad 89.43$$

Obviously such an EFL Difficulty Estimate is not easy to calculate. The counts that are necessary and the computations are not only laborious, but are also very prone to calculation errors if done by hand. However, computer software could no doubt be developed to do the job quickly and efficiently. Examples of similar software include *Scandinavian PC Systems* (1988), *Que Software* (1990) and PC-Style by Button (1986). All three of these software packages produce first language readability indices, and no doubt, a similar software package could easily be programmed to count the necessary linguistic elements and calculate an EFL Difficulty Estimate like the one shown here.

5. How does the EFL Difficulty Estimate compare to existing first language indices?

The most variance in EFL Difficulty that was accounted for by any of the first language readability indices was 30 percent. The ESL Difficulty Estimates, on the other hand, were correlated with the EFL Difficulties at .74, which indicates that 55 percent (.742 = .5476 x 100 = about 55) of the variance in Passage Difficulties was accounted for. In other words, the EFL Difficulty Estimates accounted for more than half of the variance in Passage Difficulties. Another way to look at this issue is that the EFL Difficulty Estimates accounted for nearly twice as much variance in Passage Difficulties as did the first language readability indices. In short, the EFL Difficulty Estimate was much more strongly related to Passage Difficulty than any of the first language readability indices.

However, the EFL Difficulty Estimate is not without its own problems. It is still only a moderately good predictor, as indicated by the multiple coefficient of determination. Another way to think about the accuracy of predictions offered by the EFL Difficulty Estimate is to consider the standard error of estimate, which is shown to be 19.68 at the bottom of Table 6. This statistic indicates a confidence interval around the predicted values within which the estimates can be expected to fall 68 percent of the time. In practical terms, this means that the estimates can be expected to be inaccurate by as much as 19.68 points 68 percent of the time.

Conclusions

In general terms, the results of this study indicate that a variety of first language readability indices for a set of 50 passages were only weakly correlated with the average performances of Japanese university students on cloze versions of those same passages. In other words, the first language indices were only weakly related to EFL Difficulty (no more than 30 percent related). The EFL Difficulty Estimate provided in this paper had a higher degree of association (about 55 percent related). Although the EFL Difficulty Estimate is not easy to calculate, it does account for more of the variance in EFL Difficulty than the traditional first language readability formulas. Perhaps ESL/EFL readability formulas will necessarily be more complex than their first language counterparts. And perhaps higher order linguistic and student variables like those used in this study are needed.

In addition, because of the controversy surrounding the cloze procedure as a criterion measure for readability indices, it might be better to think of the EFL Difficulty Estimate developed in this project as a sort of clozability index, or indication of the degree of proficiency needed to successfully fill in blanks in a cloze format. Surely some association exists between the EFL Difficulty Estimate provided here and some aspect of the relative difficulty of the cloze passages used. Since cloze passages are well-established measures of overall ESL/EFL proficiency, the EFL Difficulty Estimate might best be viewed as a measure of the overall difficulty of passages with respect to the ESL/EFL proficiency needed to comprehend them.

The primary point is not that this particular index is the magical answer to determining the readability of passages for use in ESL/EFL curricula and materials, but rather that such an index can be created, one that is more highly related to the performance of second language learners than are the first language readability indices. A second point is that such an index may necessarily include some reference to lexical variables, in this case, the average percent of long words (seven or more letters), the average percent of function words, and the average frequency of the word elsewhere in the passage. A third point is that EFL/ESL readability might best be estimated separately for students from different language backgrounds. Perhaps different variables in different combinations with different weightings will work better or worse in predicting the readability of passages for speakers of different languages. Thus a strategy similar to the one employed in this study could be used to constantly improve the readability estimates for speakers of different languages as we learn more and more about what makes text difficult for students to process.

Suggestions for Future Research

As is often the case in research of this sort, more questions were raised in the process of doing the study than were answered. The following research questions are provided in the hope that other researchers will pursue this line of inquiry:

1. What differences and similarities would occur if this study were replicated at other institutions in Japan? With students from other language groups? With students at other levels of study? Or other ages?

2. What other linguistic text or extra-textual variables might be included in such research? How well would they predict EFL Difficulty?
3. What hierarchies of difficulty are found at the passage level for any of the linguistic variables (separately or combine[illegible] that would have implications for second language acquisition research?

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James Dean ("JD") Brown, Professor on the graduate faculty of the Department of ESL at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, has published numerous articles on language testing and curriculum development and books on statistical language studies, curriculum development, and language testing. He has co-edited books on testing in Japan, testing pragmatics, performance testing and classroom testing.

Notes

1. Note that the dependent variable, Passage Difficulty was normalized by transforming it to a percentile scale (using the areas under the curve in the *z* distribution). The Passage Frequency variable was transformed in all analyses using a standard log transformation (see Chatterjee & Price, 1977, pp. 27-38, or Neter & Wasserman, 1974, pp. 121-130). This was necessary to correct for a curvilinear relationship with the dependent variable. Further justification for these transformations is based on Carroll (1967), who found that word-frequency counts are lognormally distributed.
2. One concern whenever performing regression analysis is that the rather rigorous assumptions and design conditions be met. One of these assumptions is that the dependent and independent variables must be normally distributed. In order to achieve normality and linearity two of the variables were transformed as pointed out in footnote 2. Table 5 indicates that, as analyzed, all of the variables in the regression analysis were reasonably normal in distribution. In addition, the relationships of each of the independent

variables was found to be linear with Passage Difficulty (the dependent variable). Multicollinearity was avoided by using factor analysis in the selection process with the goal of maximizing the orthogonality of the dependent variables. The assumption of heteroscedasticity was checked by examining the scatterplots of each variable with residuals; it was not found to be a problem. In addition, the Durbin-Watson statistic turned out to be 1.4 indicating that autocorrelation was not an issue (Chatterjee & Price, 1977, 127). However, one final problem is more worrisome. The units of analysis, cloze passages, were only 50 in number. Thus the *N*-size for the regression was only 50, and, with four dependent variables, this may not be large enough. No hard and fast rule exists about this matter, yet this is a problem that readers should keep in mind while interpreting the results of the present study.

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Appendix: Example of a Cloze Passage (Brown, 1989)

Name______________________________ Native Language__________________
(Last) (First)
Sex________________ Age__________ Country of Passport________________

Directions
1. Read the passage quickly to get the general meaning.
2. Write only one word in each blank. Contractions (example: *don't* and possessives (*John's* bicycle) are one word.
3. Check your answers.

Note: Spelling will not count against you as long as the scorer can read the word.

Example: The boy walked up the street. He stepped on a piece of ice. He fell (1)____________, but he didn't hurt himself.

A Father and Son

Michael Beal was just out of the service. His father had helped him get his job at Western. The (1)____________ few weeks Mike and his father had lunch together almost every (2)____________ . Mike talked a lot about his father. He was worried about (3)____________ hard he was working, holding down two jobs.

"You know," Mike (4)____________ , "before I went in the service my father could do just (5)____________ anything. But he's really kind of tired these days. Working two (6)____________ takes a lot out of him. He doesn't have as much (7)____________ . I tell him that he should stop the second job, but (8)____________ won't listen.

During a smoking break, Mike introduced me to his (9)____________ Bill mentioned that he had four children. I casually remarked that (10)____________ hoped the others were better than Mike. He took my joking (11)____________ and, putting his arm on Mike's shoulder, he said, "I'll be (12)____________ if they turn out as well as Mike."

(test continues)

発話矯正：
コミュニティ・ランゲージ・ラーニングの理論の応
(Applying CLL Principles to Error Correction)

横溝紳一郎
南山大学外国人留学生別科

When teaching a foreign language, the teacher frequently encounters student output that is deviant from the norm of the target language. A significant problem is how to deal with these deviations so that learning is promoted. Many proposals have been made regarding error correction, but there have been few empirical studies to support them. Currently, the extent to which error treatment facilitates learning, if at all, is not clear, and it is even less clear which kinds of treatment are effective. As a result, many teachers provide their students with error correction according to their personal beliefs. However, teachers have to deal with various classroom activities that require different error correction techniques and with learning differences that lead to a variety of errors. As a result, many teachers are inconsistent in their error correction practices during classroom activities, and this confuses students concerning the appropriateness of their utterances. Consequently, error correction guidelines are needed for each classroom activity. The pedagogical focus of classroom activities and the reactions of the corrected students provide a basis for these guidelines. The former appears easier for teachers to grasp, while the latter is more complicated and is related to the students' readiness to be corrected. Anxiety about making errors and being corrected can have a negative influence on students' learning, but it can also be eliminated, or at least minimized, when students are ready to be corrected. But how can teachers prepare students for correction?

One answer can be found in Community Language Learning (CLL). CLL suggests that there are five stages of student growth in global proficiency in the classroom and claims that students at all stages except Stage III are ready to accept error correction. The same stages are also applicable to the student's mastery of linguistic items. When a new linguistic item is introduced, the students need the teacher's full assistance (Stage I). As they practice the new linguistic item, they gain confidence, although they still need the teacher's assistance

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(Stage II). Later, however, they start to reject the teacher's interruption and assistance (Stage III).

While communicating among themselves without the teacher's assistance, they realize they are making some recurring and/or uncorrectable errors and spontaneously ask for correction (Stage IV). Learners finally master the item but still need occasional refinement and correction (Stage V). Consideration of both the pedagogical focus of an activity and the stage that each student has reached in the process of learning a particular item will provide teachers with guidelines for more consistent and systematic error correction. Based on these considerations, this study presents practical proposals for error correction concerning which errors should be corrected, how errors should be corrected, and who should correct errors during classroom activities.

ある言語を外国語として教えるとき、教師はその目標言語の標準から逸脱した学習者の発話に頻繁に直面する。そのような発話にどのように対処し学習者の学習を促進するかは、教師にとって重要な問題である。発話矯正に関して様々な主張がなされてきたが、その主張を裏付ける実験的研究はほとんど存在しておらず、その結果、教育現場では自らの個人的信念に基づいて、発話矯正を行なう教師が多い。しかしながら、教師が使用するそれぞれの教室活動によってその教育目標は異なり、その目標達成のために使用される発話矯正のテクニックも多様であることが必要である。また学習自体も学習者によって異なり、それが多様な誤りを産出することも、それに対処する発話矯正のテクニックの多様性を要求する。教師の個人的信念だけではこのような多様に満ちた要求に対処しきれず、教師の発話矯正は首尾一貫性を欠き、発話の適切さに関する混乱を学習者に生じさせる結果となってしまうことが多い。現場の教師にとって必要なのは、各教室活動に於ける発話矯正の具体的なガイドラインである。本研究は、発話矯正に関するこれまでの先行研究に基づいて、いくつかの教室活動での具体的な発話矯正のガイドラインを紹介するものである。各教室活動の目的と矯正される学習者の情意という二つの要因をそのガイドライン作りでは考慮し、学習者の情意に関しては,特にCommunity Language Learning (以下 CLL)の成長の５段階の理論を応用する。

発話矯正[1]に関する先行研究[2]

「学習者の誤りを直すべきか」に関してオーディオ・リンガル・メソッド (以下 ALM) では、誤りイコール不十分な学習の現われであり、直すべきだとしている (例、Lee 1970)。これに対し、中間言語発達の過程で学習者が目標言語に関する仮説を立てそれを検証していると主張する研究者は、誤りの産出は必然的なもので教師は誤りを予測し受け入れる必要があると考えるのだが、その誤りを必然的だと考える研究者の中でも、誤りを直すべきかについては意見が分かれている。Chaudron (1988) は、学習者が発達中の文法の仮定的で過渡的なルールを確認し訂正する助けになるとして、矯正に関し肯定的な立場を取っており、George (1972), Corder (1973), Allwright (1975)は、学習者が自分の誤りに気付かない場合は、その学習者よりも言語能力が上の者からの援助が必要だとしている。一方で、L1＝L2仮説の提唱者の Dulay, Burt & Krashen (1984) は、矯正の効果を非常に限定されたものであ

るとし、特にKrashen (1982)は矯正が言語習得にマイナスに作用すると主張している。

「どの誤りを直し、どの誤りを直さないのか」に関してALMは、全ての誤りを直ちに直すこと、そして学習者に正しい文を繰り返させることが重要であるとしている。これに対し、誤りの産出は言語学習にとって自然かつ必要な現象であると考える研究者は、目標言語のいわゆる"標準"の形や構造とは異なるものを教師は受け入れるべきであるとした上で、ALMの全てを直す方法は学習者の注意を自分が犯す誤りのみに向けることにつながるので時間の無駄だと主張している (例、George 1972)。直す誤りと直さない誤りを教師がどう選択すべきなのかについては、図1のような意見がある[3]。

図1「どの誤りを直すなのか」に関する意見とその特徴

意見	特徴
間違いと誤りを区別し，対処法も変えるべき。(Corder, 1967)	誤り (errors) を形成途中にある不完全な仮説を反映するもの，また間違い (mistakes) を疲労や注意力の欠如などにより偶然に生じるものと定義した。教師は間違いに関しては学習者自身が直すよう促し，誤りに関してはその取扱に責任を負うべきである。
全体的誤りは直し局部的誤りは直さなくてもよい(Burt and Kiparsky, 1974)	全体的誤り (global errors) とは文全体に影響を及ぼし意志の伝達を大きく妨げる誤りであり，局部的誤り (local errors) とは文の一構成素に生じる，大きく伝達を妨げることのない誤りである。
否定的な評価につながる (stigmatized) 誤りは直すべき (Hendrickson, 1978)	ある種の誤りは，その誤りを犯した話者を非好意的に分類する反応を母語話者に生じさせる。そのような誤りは直すべきである。
発達の次の段階に関係のある誤りは直すべきである	学習者が発達上の次段階のルールを発見するレディネスがある場合は，その次段階における矯正に対して応えることが可能である。

「どのようにして誤りを直すべきか」すなわち教師から学習者へのフィードバックの分類 (例、Allwright, 1975; Chaudron, 1988; 窪田1994) は、大体図2のようにまとめられる[4]。

「誰が誤りを直すべきか」に関して、教室内で誤りを直すことが出来るのは通常、教師、誤りを犯した学習者本人、そして他の学習者の3者である。目標言語の情報源であること及び誤りを直すことに対する自分の責任を否定する教師はあまり多くないと思われるが、そのことは教師による矯正の独占の正当性を意味しておらず、誤りを犯した学習者自身が誤りを直すことは可能である。Chaudron (1988)は、目標言語の発話を自分でモニターする能力を学習者につけさせることが授業の目的であるべきだと主張し、また George (1972) や Corder (1973) は、学習者が自らの誤りに意識的になれば、教師による矯正よりも、自分の誤りを直すことでより多くを学ぶと主張している。もう1つの矯正の形は、他の学習者による矯正である。教師は直感的に、学習者同士はお互いに十分な矯正が出来ないとか、間違ったフィードバックを与えないかと考えるが、この考えはいくつかの研究により否定されている(例、Bruton and Samuda, 1980)。

以上の誤りに関する先行研究は、「学習者の誤りを直すべきか」「どの誤りを直すべきか」「どのようにして誤りを直すべきか」「誰が誤りを直すべきか」いずれに関しても、主張のみに留まりそれを裏付ける実証的研究に欠け、これといった結論を見い出していない。これは多分に、矯正の効果を測ることの困難さに起因している。そ

図２　教師から学習者へのフィードバックの種類

フィードバックの種類		特　徴	例
明示的フィードバック	誤りがあったことの指摘	会話の流れを遮断する	「ちょっと変でしたよ。」
	誤りのタイプの指摘		「助詞 (Particle) が違いますよ。」
	誤りの場所の指摘（誤りの部分の強調も可能）		「公園を（強調）ですか。」
	誤り文と正解文を提示し選択させる（誤り文と正解文の異なる部分の強調も可能）		「公園を（強調）行きました、ですか。公園に（強調）行きました、ですか。」
	正解文の提示（直した部分の強調も可能）		「公園に（強調）行きました、ですね。」
	説明（誤りの理由の説明を目標言語又は学習者の母語で与える）		「Particle O is used to highlight the thing/person acted upon. That's why O should not be used.」
暗示的フィードバック		教師は会話の流れに添って正解文を言うが、その正解文の繰り返しを学習者には要求しない	「あ、私も公園に行きましたよ。」
明確化要求		発話をし直したり言い換えたりする機械を学習者に与える	「もう一度言ってください。」
非理解を示すフィードバック		理解できた部分だけに反応したり、全然理解していないことを示したりする	「公園、公園がどうかしたんですか。」または「えっ、何ですか。」

の結果、教育現場では自らの個人的信念に基づいて、ケース・バイ・ケースで発話矯正を行なう教師が多い。しかしながら、教室内では多様な矯正が要求され、個人的信念だけではその多様な要求に対処しきれないことが原因で、教師の発話矯正は首尾一貫性を欠き、発話の適切さに関する混乱を学習者に生じさせる結果となってしまうことが少なくない (Chaudron, 1988)。現場の教師にとって必要なのは、各教室活動に於ける矯正の具体的なガイドラインである。

発話矯正の具体的なガイドライン作りのための理論的裏付け

各教師の個人的信念を越えた、発話矯正の具体的なガイドラインを作るために本研究では、(1) 発話矯正は成人学習者には効果的である、(2) 教室活動の目的に応じて発話矯正の方法を使い分けるべきである、(3) 矯正される学習者のレディネスを考慮すべきである、の三つの理論的裏付けに基づき考察していく[5]。

発話矯正は「成人学習者」の学習を促進する効果がある

現在のところ、多くの研究者の間で一致が見られるのは、発話矯正は成人外国語学習者に対しては効果的であろうということである。(例、Krashen and Seliger, 1975; Jorden, 1986)

発話矯正の方法は各教室活動の目標を反映すべきである

コミュニカティブ・アプローチの提唱者(例、Lightbown and Spada, 1990)は、何種類もの矯正のテクニックを使うことの重要性を指摘し、Omaggio-Hadley (1993)は、

Proficiency-oriented Approachにおける形式に焦点を当てた教室活動の重要性を認め、第２言語教育には様々なタイプのフィードバックが必要であるとしている。窪田(1994)は一歩踏み込んで、正確さを目的とした教室活動では明示的フィードバックが、なめらかさを目的とした教室活動では暗示的フィードバックが効果的であるとした上で、授業の目的を考慮して明示的と暗示的の両フィードバックをバランス良く使うべきであるとしている。

矯正される学習者のレディネスを考慮すべきである

誤りの矯正により、誤りそのもの、誤りを犯した自分自身、そして誤りを直した者に対する否定的態度が、矯正された学習者に生じることがある。特に、学習者の発話が教師または他の学習者によって矯正された場合、その矯正は教育的援助ではなく、直した者から直された者への「受け入れ不可」のメッセージ、そして誤りを犯した学習者に対する個人的批判ととらえられてしまうこともある。直されることに対する否定的態度は、教師や他の学習者の前で誤りを犯すことへの不安を学習者に生じ、学習者の発話自体の質的・量的な低下につながることが少なくない。それ故、直されることイコール失敗であるという不安から学習者を解放する必要がある（MacFarlane, 1975)。誤りを犯したり直されたりすることに対する不安をなくす、または最小限にすることにに関してChaudron (1988) は、フィードバックとしての矯正の効果は、フィードバック内の情報に対する学習者のレディネスと注意力次第であると主張している。換言すれば、誤りを犯したり矯正されたりすることに対する不安は、学習者の学習を妨げるが、学習者が矯正を受け入れられる状態であれば、その不安を取り除いたり少なくとも最小限に抑えることは可能であり、それができれば矯正の効果を上げることにつながるのである。発話矯正を受け入れられる学習者の状態を教師がどのようにして見極めるかに対する答えの一つが、CLLによって導き出される。CLLは、その基本理論の一つとして、教室内の学習者の５段階の成長及び各段階における教師の役割を図３のように主張している[6]。

図３ CLLの学習者の５段階の成長と各段階での教師の役割

	学習者の５段階の成長	教師の役割
胎児期 (第1段階)	完全に教師に依存していて、教師の存在無しには目標言語が話せない。	学習者が目標言語で発話できるよう、全面的に面倒をみる。
自己主張期 (第2段階)	少しずつ自信がつき単純な文を使い始めるが、教師への依存が依然として存在する。	援助の要請を待った上で学習者の学習を支える。
別個存在期 (第3段階)	自分達だけで目標言語のみを使い会話することを望み、教師の干渉や助力を拒否する。	学習者とある程度の距離を保ち自分から干渉したいという気持ちを押さえる。
役割転換期 (第4段階)	教師とは独立して機能するが、教師の知識に依存しなければそれ以上の上達が困難であると認識し、必要に応じて教師の助力を要請する。教師の認知面での助力を自ら働きかけて積極的に受け入れる。また、より積極的な参画が、確認行為や教師への助力といった形で現われる場合もでてくる。	学習者の安心感を損ねないように心掛けながら、学習者の要請に応じて学習を支える。また、学習者からの確認や協力があった場合は、それを受け入れ授業に活かしていく。
独立期 (第5段階)	教師から完全に独立しコミュニケーション出来るが、微妙な言語面での洗練や手直しが必要とされる場合がある。	高いレベルで適切な表現が出来るように学習者を指導する。

この５段階の成長は、学習者の目標言語能力のグローバルな成長に関するものであるが、同様の５段階の成長が、学習者の学習項目一つ一つのマスターの過程にも適用できると考えられる。すなわち、新しい学習項目が導入されたばかりの時は、学習者は教師の助けに完全に依存している (第１段階)。その項目の練習を行なううちに、少しずつ自信を持ち始めるが、教師の援助は依然として必要である (第２段階)。その項目に関する自信が増し、教師の援助や干渉を拒絶するようになる (第３段階)。教師の援助なしでその項目を使って学習者同士でコミュニケーションしているうちに、自らが頻繁に犯す誤りや自分では直せない誤りの存在に気付き、自発的に教師による矯正を要求する(第４段階) 。その項目に関してはほぼ完全にマスターしてしまい誤りもほとんど犯さないが、手直しが必要な場合が時にはある (第５段階)。 矯正に対するレディネスによりこの5段階を分析してみると、第3段階以外は矯正を教師からの援助として受け入れるレディネスを持っており、矯正が効果的であるということになる。

教室活動と発話矯正：例

以下、各教室活動の目標と矯正される学習者の情意に基づいて「どの誤りを、どのように、誰が直すべきか」を考察し、発話矯正の具体的なガイドライン作りを試みる[7]。考察する教室活動は機械的ドリル、ペア・ワーク、ロール・プレイの3つである[8]。

機械的ドリル（パターン練習）

教科書または教師による文法説明の直後に行なわれる正確さのための教室活動である。学習者にとってはその学習項目を使って文を作る初めての機会なので、多くの誤りが生じることが予想される。「誰が」については、教師が中心的役割を果たしてよいであろう。学習者は教師の知識に完全にまたは部分的に依存している状態（すなわちCLLの第１段階または第２段階）で、教師の援助を必要としている。学習者自身による矯正や他の学習者による矯正も生じ、生じた場合はその学習項目に関する成長の現われであると考えられる。「どの」については、その学習項目がまだ十分に定着していないので、全てのタイプの誤り（全体的誤り・局部的誤り・否定的評価につながる誤り） を矯正すべきであろう。「どのように」については、明示的フィードバックが、誤りの部分に学習者を集中させるので、もっとも有効であろう。誤りの部分が強調されれば、その効果も増すと考えられる。明確化要求も非理解を示すフィードバックも、その項目を使って文を作る機会を再度学習者に与えることになり、有効である。機械的ドリルでは、誤りを犯した学習者が (多くの場合教師の援助により)自分の誤りを正した後、教師は他の学習者に正しい文をモデルとして提示する必要がある。学習者はその項目についての仮説を形成し始めたばかりで、その項目を含む文を発話したり聞いたりする度に、自分の仮説を検証しているからである。学習項目の学習初期段階にいる学習者は、誤り文と正解文の違いに気付かないことも多いと考えられるので、暗示的フィードバックは他のテクニックに比べ効果的ではないであろう。

ペア・ワーク

なめらかさのための教室活動であるペア・ワーク中の学習者は、お互いの発話を確認しながらタスクを遂行することに従事しており、学習者同士でお互いの誤りを指摘・矯正し合い、教師の援助を必要としないことがよくある。この状態の学習者はCLLの第３段階にいると考えられるので、自分達だけでタスクを遂行しようとしてい

る学習者の努力を教師は妨げないように努める必要がある。学習者がCLLの第３段階にいるかぎり、矯正するのは誤りを犯した学習者またはパートナーである他の学習者であり、「どの」「どのように」も学習者によって決定される。

しかしながら、教師の援助を望む学習者もおり、大きく２つのタイプに分けられる。第１のタイプは、自分の発話に対する自信が不足していて援助を求める学習者で、CLLの第２段階に当たる。もう一つのタイプは、自分の発話に対する自信はかなりあるのだが、その適切さを確認することを望む学習者でＣＬＬの第４段階に相当する。どちらの場合も、教師からの援助を求める学習者の行為は、学習者同士の矯正に十分に満足していないことの現われである。「どの」については、学習者は第２段階にいても第４段階にいても、自分の発話の適切さを確認しようとしているので、全てのタイプの誤りを直すべきであろう。「どのように」については、学習者のニーズである学習項目に対する仮説の確認につながるので、学習者が第２段階にいても第４段階にいても、明示的フィードバックが望ましいであろう。ただし、第２段階にいて自分だけで文を作るのに困難を覚えている学習者に対しては、「誤りがあったことを指摘する」だけでは十分な教育的援助とはならないであろう。暗示的フィードバック・明確化要求・非理解を示すフィードバックは、仮説の確認に対する答えを与えられないので、効果的でないと考えられる。

ロール・プレイ

ロール・プレイの対話創作はなめらかさのための教室活動であるが、学習者によっては、対話を開始し、発展させ、終結させることがうまく出来ない場合がある。その際学習者は、教師（または他の学習者）の援助を求めたり、またはその学習者自身が自分の力で困難な状況をのりきろうとしたりすることが多い。前者を選んだ学習者は、CLLの第２段階または第４段階に属していると考えられ、教師はCLLの教師のように、モデル文の提供により対話作りをしている学習者の奮闘努力を支える。それに対し、後者を選んだ学習者はCLLの第３段階に属し、多くの場合色々な誤りを産出する結果となり、対話終了後その誤りを矯正することになる。このように、ロール・プレイにおいて教師が援助を与えるのは、対話の途中で教師によるモデル文を学習者が望む場合と対話終了後に対話の内容をふり返る場合の２つである。対話途中での「誰が」については、自分自身で文を完成することに困難を覚えている学習者に対する援助なので、教師または他の学習者によってなされるべきである。対話の途中で情報源としての役割を果たす場合、教師は自ら進んで対話に介入し誤りを矯正することは避けねばならず、学習者により要求されたときのみ、必要な語句または文を与えるよう努める。対話中の教師の援助は、明示的フィードバックの中の１つ、正解文の提示に限定すべきである。

対話終了後、正確さのための教室活動として、対話の中で出てきた表現について学習者と一緒に考えるといった形で対話内容をふり返っていく。その際、教師はまず誤りを含んだ表現の存在の確認とその直し方を学習者から引き出すように努める。換言すれば、学習者に誤りを含む文を発見しその直し方を提案する責任が負わされているのである。学習者による直し方が正しい場合はそれが矯正になり、正しくない場合は教師が正しい直し方を提示する。このように、対話終了後の矯正は、誤りを犯した学習者本人または他の学習者が中心的役割を果たすべきで、学習者が自分達で矯正でき

ない場合のみ教師が矯正の役割を果たす。「どの」については、学習者は対話内の表現に対する自分の仮説の妥当性の確認に従事しているので、CLLの第4段階にいると考えられ、全てのタイプの誤りを直す必要が教師にはある。学習者が自らの仮説の妥当性に対する明確な答えを望んでいるので、「どのように」については、明示的フィードバックのテクニックが望ましいであろう。暗示的フィードバック・明確化要求・非理解を示すフィードバックは仮説の妥当性を確認するというニーズを満たさないので、適当ではないと考えられる。

各教室活動での発話矯正のまとめ

今まで述べてきた各教室活動における発話矯正の具体的な案をまとめた表1が示すように、各教室活動における教育目標及び学習者の情意は異なり、それに従い色々なタイプの発話矯正の仕方が必要とされている。

おわりに

以上、教育目標と直される学習者の情意に基づき、各教室活動における発話矯正の具体的なガイドライン作りを試みてきたが、Ellis (1990)が指摘するように発話矯正の効果を測定することは極めて困難であるため、ガイドラインの妥当性を裏付ける実証的研究は現在は存在しておらず、あくまで研究者の理論と筆者本人の経験に基づく産物である。また、このガイドラインは、教室内での教師の発話矯正の一貫性の向上には貢献できると考えられるが、考慮すべき点が他にも多く存在し、現時点では未完成であることを認めざるを得ない。例えば、「どのように誤りを直すべきか」で発話矯正を大きく四つに分類し考察したが、矯正する際の教師の声のトーンや表情などは考察に含まれていない。また、誤りを犯した学習者本人や他の学習者がどのように誤りを直すべきかも考察から除外されている。加えて、成人学習者といっても幅が広く、学習者の年令・言語運用能力のレベル・学習スタイル・学習ストラテジー・パーソナリティー等によっても、発話矯正の効果が影響を受けるであろうことは容易に想像できる。更に、教師と学習者の間に信頼関係が出来ていなければ、教師の矯正を受け入れるレディネスが学習者に生じにくいであろう。それ故、本研究は一貫した発話矯正に向けての叩き台としての第一歩としてとらえられるべきであり、本研究に含まれていない上述の要素も取り入れた上での拡大、そしてそれを裏付ける実証的研究が今後の課題である。

脚注

1 本稿は学習者の教室内での発話内の誤りとその矯正に関するものである。教室外での誤りやスピーキング以外の誤りは本稿では取り扱わない。

2 Hendrickson (1978)が挙げた誤り矯正に関する四つの質問に基づく。尚、Hendricksonでは「いつ誤りを直すべきか」が含まれているが、「いつ」は、「どの誤りを」に密接に関係しているので、四つの質問に限定した。

3 Ellis (1990, 54-55) による。

4 誤りを犯した学習者に対する非難、学習者の上達の指摘、誤りがない文が作れた学習者への賞賛等の情意的なフィードバックや学習者の文を教師が完成するフィードバックは発話矯正の枠組みから外れるので除外する。尚、全ての例は教師の「昨日何をしましたか。」という

質問に、学習者が「公園を行きました。」と答えた後の教師のフィードバックである。

5 これら三つの理論も、前述の発話矯正に関する主張同様、実証的研究の裏付けが未だなされていないが、真っ向から反対する主張も筆者の知るかぎり存在しておらず、また具体的なガイドライン作りを提供するという本稿の目的には役立てやすい理論であるので、採用した。

6 CLLの基本理論に関しては、Curran (1972, 1976)、LaForge (1983)、および Rardin, et al. (1988)参照。

7 「学習者の誤りを直すべきか」は、成人学習者には発話矯正は効果があるという前提に立つ。また、第3章の「誰が」は「誰が誤りを直すべきか」を、「どの」は「どの誤りを直すべきか」を、「どのように」は「どのようにして誤りを直すべきか」をそれぞれ指す。「どの」については、「間違いは学習者自身によって直されるべきである(Corder, 1967)」に従い、誤りだけを問題とする。誤りが学習者の発達の次の段階に関係しているかは、発達の過程に関する研究が不足している現時点では、教師による教室内での判断は困難なので、考察から除く。「どのように」は、教師の矯正に絞り、学習者自身または他の学習者による矯正は本稿では触れない。

8 筆者は学習者の言語運用能力の向上のために、同一学習項目を練習する機会を、機械的ドリル→ペアワーク→ロールプレイの順で学習者に与えている。本稿で筆者が考察しているのは、筆者自身が使用しているタイプの機械的ドリル、ペアワーク及びロールプレイに限定されており、それらのタイプが異なれば、発話矯正の仕方に関する考察にも影響があると考えられる。筆者が使用しているタイプのこれらの教室活動に関しては、坂本・横溝(1995)、横溝(1996)、横溝(1997)を参照。

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Local Area Network (LAN) Computers in ESL and EFL Writing Classes: Promises and Realities

George Braine
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Miho Yorozu
University of Hong Kong

Local Area Network (LAN) computers, used in writing classes in the U.S. for more than a decade, are now being introduced to colleges and universities in Asia. LANs have been observed to increase the quantity of writing and the degree of classroom interaction by students. However, research does not indicate that LANs are more effective in improving the writing of ESL and EFL students. Further, during peer reviews of papers, a context which usually generates the most collaboration, students in traditional classes have provided more feedback than students in LAN classes. Hence, LANs may be no more effective than traditional classes in improving the writing of ESL and EFL students.

ローカル・エリア・ネットワーク（ＬＡＮ）は、アメリカの大学の作文授業では10年以上前から利用されているが、近年、アジアの国々での外国語授業へも導入されつつある。実際に英語を使って書く量が多くなり、学習者間の協力が盛んになるという理由で、英作文学習に効果的だといわれるＬＡＮであるが、作文の質的側面をみると状況が異なる。すなわち、ＬＡＮを利用して書き上げた作文には、従来の教授法に従って書かれた作文ほどの質的向上がみられないのである。さらに、学習者間でお互いの作文を添削する場合、ＬＡＮ利用の授業と比較して、従来型の授業の方が学習者はより盛んにフィードバックを送りあっていたことが判明した。英作文能力の向上のために、ＬＡＮの利用が従来型の授業よりも効果があるとは、必ずしも結論付けできないようである。

Local area network (LAN) computers, used in American writing classes for about a decade, are now being introduced to Asia. More than a dozen universities and colleges in Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, and Taiwan have installed LAN computers to teach writing in the past two years, and more installations are planned.[1]

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A LAN consists of a number of computer terminals linked through a server. LANs are commonly used in businesses, laboratories, and industrial settings where employees at a single location need to be linked for the purpose of sharing information. Although the exchange of electronic information usually demands expertise in LAN management, software programs designed for educational settings have simplified the process for teachers and students so that LAN-based instruction can be conducted with only a basic knowledge of computers. A number of software programs for LAN writing classes exist and this report uses the *Daedalus* program (1994).

How LAN Software Works

Daedalus (1994), used by more than five hundred secondary and tertiary institutions in the U.S. and also gaining popularity in Asia, best illustrates how LAN software designed for writing classes functions. The software is capable of displaying two "windows" on each computer screen—one for private editing and the other for public viewing. The "messages" written by the teacher and students in the private editing windows of their computers appear on the public viewing window on every computer screen in the classroom. The writing on the public viewing window is called the "main" conference. Since the writing appears sequentially and can be scrolled on the computer screen, the teacher and students can be involved in a simultaneous discussion. The software program is also capable of running "sub-conferences," a third window that allows smaller groups of students, with or without the teacher, to hold simultaneous discussions separately from the main conference, with the option of joining the main conference. Thus, at any given time, the class could be involved in discussions on the main conference and a number of sub-conferences. In writing classes, sub-conferences are suggested to be especially suitable for peer review of papers in small groups of three or four students.

When computers were introduced to writing classes more than two decades ago, they were stand-alone versions and students sat in relative isolation using word processing programs. Although these programs made revision easier, interaction with other students and the teacher was not high and feedback on writing came mainly from the teacher. The introduction of LANs to writing classes about a decade ago led to a dramatic increase in student writing, interaction, and collaboration, and to more learner-centered classes.

Hypothetically, LANs hold much promise for second or foreign language learners because they have the following advantages over traditional teacher-centered writing classes that use methods such as oral discussions, lectures, and word processing. First, the real-time conferencing capability of LANs can promote better discussions because the lack of turn-taking allows all the students in a class to participate, eliminates interruptions, and facilitates immediate feedback by students and the teacher (see Kemp, 1993). Further, the negative effects of social context cues like skin color, gender, and age are eliminated in LAN discussions. In addition, second and foreign language learners who are generally less articulate orally than in writing, take more time to verbalize their thoughts, and are too polite to interrupt others, are also not disadvantaged (for a more detailed discussion of the positive effects of LANs in writing classes, see Cooper & Selfe, 1990). The anxiety caused by accents, another obstacle to free interaction in second and foreign language classes (see Price, 1991), is also eliminated by LANs.

As an example of how LANs promote student discourse, Figure 1 is an excerpt from a LAN discussion as it appeared in the public viewing window. The discussion on a paper titled, "Surviving in Cambodia" was conducted by Cantonese-speaking students enrolled in an EFL writing class at a Hong Kong university. Fourteen students, 4 male and 10 female, participated in this discussion, their first meeting on the LAN. The students contributed 99 messages during the total meeting time of 105 minutes, the female students sending 52 messages and the males 25; the balance of 22 messages were from the teacher. The highest number of messages sent by a student was eight, and the lowest was one, producing 100% student participation in the discussion.

This excerpt illustrates some distinctive features of a LAN writing program, such as the sequential appearance of messages, the identification of writers, and the prolific nature of writing. Cheung May's contribution, which appears at the beginning of the segment, is actually the 51st "message" in the discussion. The first message in the excerpt was sent at 11:39:58 and the final message at 11.41:28. Thus, within a period of 90 seconds, four students had contributed fairly long and thoughtful messages totaling more than 210 words (see Braine, 1998, for a detailed analysis of this LAN discussion).

Research on the Quantity and Quality of ESL/EFL Students' Writing with LANs

As seen from the transcript in Figure 1, perhaps the most remarkable and appealing features of LANs are the high volume of writing by students and their great degree of participation. These features have been documented repeatedly in ESL writing classes using LANs. For instance,

Figure 1: Excerpt from Transcript
of a LAN Discussion in an EFL Writing Class

11:39:58
Msg #51 Cheung Meimei May:
Although the writer tells his unhappy story in Cambodia, he writes it quite interestingly. The story is quite funny. However, I think the deep meaning in this paper not only tells us his story. It reflects the poor situation in Cambodia during the Communist rule. It is so sad to know that a nine year old boy always has to lie and steal in order to survive.

11:40:08
Msg #52 Judy Chan:
George, does the ILC have this film?

11:40:52
Msg #53 Ashley Ip:
The thesis is also very attractive to me because I have been living in a very peaceful place since I was born. It is very difficult for me to imagine how I can live if there is a war. And, I think this is also some experience that only few students have. Therefore I think the paper is attractive to everyone.

11:41:28
Msg #58 Cora Limleena:
"surviving in Cambodia" is an interesting paper.
First of all, the thesis statement is clearly stated in the first paragraph-"I survived through the entire four years by knowing how to lie and how to steal." This attract readers attention as we are all curious to know how and why!
Examples quoted are the writer's first hand experience and so it is more believable. However I am sorry that it is really a hard time for a nine-year-old boy to lie and to steal!

Markley (1992) observed that students in a 50-minute class wrote an average of 152 words, while in another 50-minute class the average student output increased to 188 words. Students in a 40-minute class taught by Sullivan (1993) wrote an average of 95 words. In a 50-minute class taught by Ghaleb (1993), each student wrote about 90 words. In a 100-minute class observed by Braine (1997a), in which students peer reviewed essays in small groups, the output was a remarkable 480 words per student. In another study, Braine (1997b) observed an average of 334 words written by EFL students during peer reviews in 100-minute classes. In all these classes, every student participated in the discussion and at least 71% of the classroom interactions were between students, in sharp contrast to traditional language classes, where from 60-80% of the speech is attributed to teachers (Chaudron, 1988, pp. 50-53).

However, the effectiveness of LANs in ESL and EFL writing classes should not be determined by the quantity of writing or by the degree of student interaction alone. Considering the high cost of the technology, a primary criterion should be the enhancement of writing quality. Several studies have compared ESL students writing in LAN-based and traditional writing classes to determine which context is more effective in enhancing writing quality. Ghaleb (1993) compared 39 ESL students enrolled in two first-year writing classes in the US, one writing on a LAN and the other in a traditional setting. The students were from ten language backgrounds. Writing quality was determined by holistic scores awarded to the first and final drafts of final term papers by three raters using a 6-point scoring guide designed by the author. The interrater reliability in this study was .66.

Although the first drafts in the LAN class were of a higher quality, the final drafts in the LAN class showed only a mean improvement of .2 of a point, while papers in the traditional class showed a mean improvement of .8 of a point. Ghaleb attributed the difference to the considerable amount of time spent by the instructor of the traditional class on the teaching of grammar and error correction, whereas in the LAN class, the teacher and students spent class time interacting on the LAN.

Sullivan and Pratt (1996) compared 38 Spanish-speaking EFL students in Puerto Rico who were enrolled in their first writing course. One group of students held discussions and wrote on a LAN while the other group conducted these activities in a traditional setting. Again, writing quality was measured by the holistic scores of two raters on a 5-point scale designed by the authors. The interrater reliability here was not estimated. At the beginning of the semester, the mean score of papers in the traditional class was higher than the LAN group. However, by the end of the semester, the mean score of the traditional group had decreased by -.46 of a point. In the LAN class, the mean scores of papers increased by .07 of a point, a very small gain. However, a paired t-test showed the difference in the changes to be statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Braine (1997a) compared the writing of 69 students enrolled in first-year ESL writing classes in the U.S., some writing on a LAN and the others in traditional classes, over two academic quarters. The students were from ten language backgrounds. The first and final drafts of student essays were scored holistically by three raters using the 6-point TOEFL Test of Written English (TWE) Scoring Guide and the interrater reliability was .80. The mean scores of first and final drafts in LAN classes were higher than the scores of the traditionally instructed group, although papers in the LAN classes improved less than papers in the traditional classes (.3 of a point compared with .4 of a point).

Another study by Braine (1997b) compared the writing of 87 Cantonese-speaker EFL students enrolled in LAN and traditional writing classes at a Hong Kong university. The comparison was repeated with six groups of students over three semesters. As in the previous study, the first and final drafts of student essays were scored holistically by three raters using the TOEFL Test of Written English (TWE) Scoring Guide. The interrater reliability here was .82. Although the mean score of the first drafts in LAN classes was higher than the mean score for the traditional group, the mean score of final drafts in traditional classes (4.54 points) was slightly better than in LAN classes (4.45 points), and, as in the previous study, writing in the traditional classes improved more, as determined by the holistic scoring method. However, a paired t-test showed that the improvements in the mean scores of both the LAN and traditional classes were statistically significant ($p < .05$). See Table 1 for a summary of the results of the four studies.

Table 1: Summary of Research Comparing Writing Quality in LAN and Traditional Writing Classes (Average Points* from Holistic Scoring)

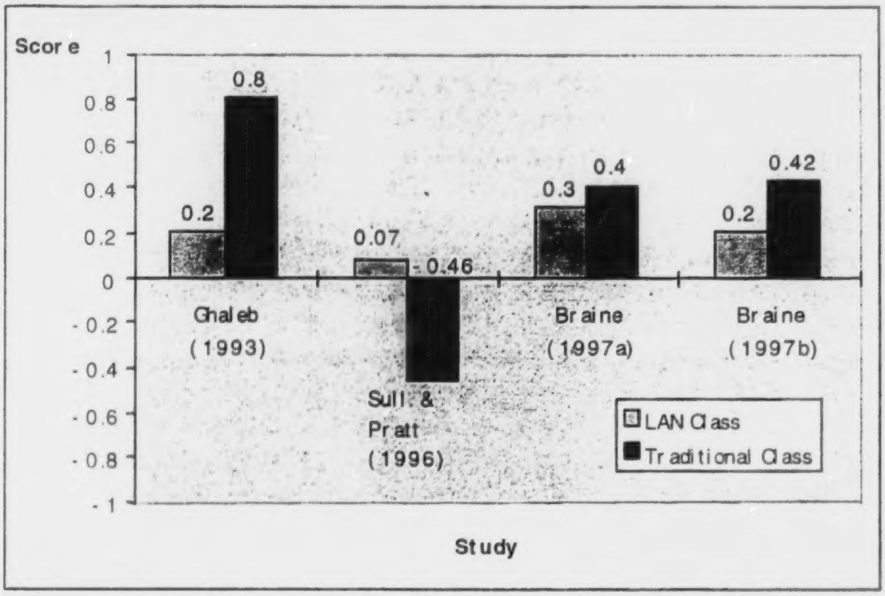
	LAN Classes		Traditional Classes	
Study	Points for Draft 1	Points for Draft 2	Points for Draft 1	Points for Draft 2
Ghaleb (1993)	3.4	3.6 (+.2)	3.1	3.9 (+.8)
Sullivan & Pratt (1996)	3.19	3.26 (+.07)	3.41	2.95 (–.46)
Braine (1997a)	5.3	5.6 (+.3)	4.8	5.2 (+.4)
Braine (1997b)	4.25	4.45 (+.2)	4.12	4.54 (+.42)

* The two Braine studies and the Ghaleb study had a maximum of 6 points; the Sullivan and Pratt study had a maximum of 5 points.

As for the effectiveness of LANs in enhancing writing quality, the results of these studies are at best inconclusive, and this finding is compounded by the lack of measures of syntactic complexity. In Ghaleb (1993) and Braine (1997b), the final drafts in traditional classes were of a higher quality than final drafts in LAN classes: Only in Braine (1997a) were final drafts in LAN classes of a higher quality. In fact, in three of the studies, (Ghaleb 1993; Braine 1997a; 1997b), the papers from the traditional classes showed more improvement from first to final draft. In Sullivan and Pratt (1996), the opposite was observed: The papers in the traditional class actually declined in quality while the papers in the LAN class improved. Here, the first drafts in the traditional class were of a higher quality (3.41) than both first (3.19) and final drafts (3.26) in the LAN class, which brings into question Sullivan and Pratt's (1996) claim that the students in the LAN class showed a gain in writing due to the LAN.

Since the students in EFL writing classes were homogeneous first language speakers, as opposed to the ESL students, who were from diverse language backgrounds, the findings of Sullivan and Pratt (1996), who studied Spanish speakers, and Braine (1997b), who studied Cantonese speakers, are more relevant to the EFL context. As noted, the conclusions of Sullivan and Pratt (1996) do little to support the claim that LANs improve writing quality. Braine's (1997b) study indicates the opposite, that the writing of students in traditional classes improved more, albeit marginally (see Figure 2 for a comparison of the changes in scores between first and final drafts in LAN and traditional classes).

Figure 2: Comparison of Changes in Scores between First and Final Drafts in LAN and Traditional Writing Classes (Holistic Scoring)



Sullivan and Pratt (1993) used a five-point scale. The other studies used six-point scales.

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Discussion

The lack of clear empirical evidence indicating that LANs are more effective in improving writing quality is surprising in the context of research findings on writing and language learning[2] which suggest that the quantity of writing generated by LANs and the collaborative nature of the writing process should promote better writing (see Keim, 1989; Burns & Culp, 1980; Briere, 1966; and Gere, 1987, for effects of writing quantity and collaboration on writing quality). Research also indicates that learning environments which provide learners with opportunities for meaningful interaction and negotiation, and provide equal status with other learners and the teacher (i.e., learner-centered, communicative classes such as LANs) promote language learning (Pica, 1987, 1996). Further, according to research on second language acquisition, collaborative, information-exchange activities (Pica, 1987), "the opportunity to participate in the same kinds of interactions as naturalistic learners" (Ellis, 1984, p. 96), the absence of typical classroom discourse such as teacher initiation, student response, and teacher feedback (Ellis, 1984, p. 97), and the opportunity to actively participate in discussions without compulsion to produce until they are ready (Ellis, 1992, p. 48) are additional conditions which promote language learning in the classroom. Thus, a language environment where the focus of communication is not on the language forms but on the content and where the interactions match the learners' level of language development promotes learning (Burt & Dulay, 1981) and these conditions are amply provided by LANs.

Then, why does a medium which holds so much promise appear to deliver so little? Ironically, the answer may lie partly in the most appealing feature of LANs, the prolific writing their use encourages. As Pennington (1996, p. 26) notes, features of a computer seen as potential benefits in some contexts may have negative effects on the writing of non-native students in other contexts. As described earlier, the amount of writing generated by a LAN discussion could be staggering and could simply overwhelm a class discussion. When a discussion gets lively, new messages are added so rapidly that many students may be unable to keep up with the flow of ideas, creating a somewhat confusing, disjointed discourse which operates against the collaborative nature of LAN interaction. Although Cooper and Selfe (1990) see the freewheeling nature of LAN interaction as being advantageous to native-speaker writers, such discourse may cause confusion to second and foreign language writers struggling to express their ideas in a new language.

This phenomenon is best illustrated in Figure 3, which is another excerpt from the LAN discussion partially presented in Figure 1. The discussion is now coming to an end and the students are giving their research paper topics to the group. Although Cora Limleena has indicated that she is leaving the discussion, the next message from Cheung May is directed at Cora. Apparently, each message was written simultaneously without an awareness of the other's contents, a situation which would have been avoided in a face-to-face discussion. The message from Ng Lei-Ling is a commentary on a paper discussed at the beginning of class and therefore has no relevance to the current discussion. The message from Shirley Yau indicates her inability to keep up with the discussion; she assumes that the computer is malfunctioning, although her confusion may actually be caused by incoming messages flooding the computer screen.

Figure 3: Excerpt from Transcript of a LAN Discussion
in an EFL Writing Class Showing Non-cohesive Discourse

12.01.02
Msg #88 Cora Limleena:
Bye everybody! See you all next time!

12.01.24
Msg #89 Cheung Meimei May:
Cora Limleena, we are lucky to live in Hong Kong. Therefore, we don't immigrate to other Asian countries as we cannot enjoy our women's rights.

12.02.04
Msg #90 Chong Ka-Yan:
I have chosen quite a different topic from the others. It's about multilevel marketing.

12.02.08
Msg #91 Ng Lei-Ling:
In my opinion, when the writer want to cite some examples or personal experiences, he had better present it clearly or give preparation for the readers to change their minds from the present situation in Russia. Actually the data or information provided in this passage is quite abundant and valuable. But it seems that it can't concentrate on the core subject.

Msg #92 Shirley Yau:
Sorry, I can't receive your message.! I knew you had sent messages to other students! Are there any problems in my computer? James has the same problem too!

Interaction and Collaboration During Peer Reviews

Perhaps more than any other type of classroom activity, peer reviews provide language learners with opportunities for interaction and collaboration. This is due to the nonthreatening environment of small groups, the mutually beneficial and dependent nature of the task, the pressure to provide useful feedback within a time limit, and meaning-focused nature of the activity.

As mentioned, the most appealing features of LAN use are the great volume of writing generated and the increased participation and collaboration by students. However, this may not hold true during the peer review process. In one study comparing the quantity of writing generated in peer reviews (Braine, 1997b) in traditional classes and LAN classes, the traditional classes promoted more feedback, determined by a word count, than the LAN class. In 100-minute peer review sessions, students in traditional classes provided an average of 694 words of verbal feedback, the median being 592. However, in LAN classes each student only wrote an average of 334 words, the median being 337.

An analysis comparing the peer review process in traditional and LAN classes (Braine, 1997b) found differences in student discourse patterns and behavior. Students in traditional classes showed an orderly sequence of turn taking, providing feedback in narrative form, with the whole draft being critiqued. There were instances of meaning being negotiated, the feedback indicating a careful reading of drafts and a holistic approach to the peer review. Writers responded immediately to the comments of peers, justifying and explaining the points being critiqued. Another noteworthy feature was that students in traditional classes made prudent use of the limited time allocated to the peer reviews, agreeing on whose draft to review first and proceeding smoothly from one draft to the next. The proximity of the students sitting in groups and the face to face nature of the interaction may have made this possible. Despite the fact that they conversed in English, a language they would rarely use for communication outside English language classes, these transcripts showed evidence of carefully wrought, useful feedback.

In contrast to the thoughtful nature of the feedback observed in the traditional classes, feedback in the LAN class appeared to be sporadic, scattered, and less organized. It also appears to have been less planned. While the face-to-face reviews in traditional classes compelled all students to be alert and active participants, the lack of eye contact and physical proximity between students writing on the LAN mitigated against careful feedback. Some students appeared to be oblivious to the computer interactions of their peers, instead writing extended comments on essays selected arbitrarily, not by consensus.

In fact, the quantity of peer feedback in the traditional classes in Braine (1997b) exceeded the quantity in LAN classes. When compared to written peer reviews on LANs, the quantity of verbal feedback was greater in all but one of the 14 peer review groups in traditional classes observed over three semesters.

Conclusion

When word processing was introduced to writing classes, it was greeted with the euphoria that accompanies most high technology innovations to language teaching. But, after a more than a decade of use, Pennington (1993) notes the lack of clear evidence that word processing actually improves student writing, a caution echoed in more general terms for all CALL (Milton, Smallwood & Purchase, 1996).

Could the same be said of LANs? In a comprehensive survey of research on computers and composition, Eldred and Hawisher (1995) argue that no empirical evidence supports the view that computer networks enhance writing quality. Although this research examines the writing of English native speakers, the research surveyed here on second and foreign language writing classes, offers no evidence to contradict this view.

Technology is expensive and time-consuming. The dynamic nature of LANs and their high productivity will no doubt appeal to language teachers weary of traditional classrooms where students sit in comparative silence and isolation. Nevertheless, the reality appears to be that LANs may be no more effective than traditional classes in improving the writing quality of English as a second/foreign language learners.

George Braine is associate professor in the English Language Teaching Unit of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. He has taught writing on LANs for ten years in the US and Hong Kong, and his publications include *Academic writing in a second language* (1995) and *Writing from sources* (1996). E-mail: georgebraine@cuhk.edu.hk

Miho Yorozu teaches Japanese at the University of Hong Kong. She has also taught English and Japanese in Japan and the US and was a co-teacher for Project IDEALS, a semester-long computer simulation on the Internet which brought together student teams from around the world. E-mail: myorozu@hkucc.hku.hk

Notes

1. Susan Meigs, The *Daedalus* Group, Inc. (personal communication, July 6, 1998).
2. Pennington (1996) claims that a "causal link between writing more and

writing better (on computers) has not been established" (p. 81). However, her claim relates to word processing, which many network theorists such as Barker and Kemp (1990) have argued is radically different from LANs.

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Effectiveness of Different Approaches to Kanji Education with Second Language Learners

Mary Flaherty
University College Dublin

Mary Sisk Noguchi
Meijo University

Approaches to teaching Chinese characters as used in Japanese (kanji) to adult second/foreign language learners can be broadly divided into the Whole-kanji method and the Component Analysis method. The Whole-kanji method involves memorizing kanji as units. The Component Analysis method involves breaking the kanji down into components, attaching meaning to those components and memorizing a story which ties the components together. This study examines the effectiveness of the two approaches with subject populations in JSL and JFL settings. Five sessions of each method consisting of instruction in 30 kanji were given to two subject groups. A Short Term Memory (STM) test followed each of the first three sessions, a Long Term Memory (LTM) test was given at the fourth session, and a Post LTM test was given one month later. The Component Analysis method promoted significantly higher retention in both settings. These findings are discussed in terms of depth of processing, learning styles and location of instruction.

日本語学習者に対する漢字教授法は、全体的漢字教授法と構成要素分析教授法とに大別することができる。全体的漢字教授法とは、漢字を独りで繰り返し書き写し、学習用に制約された文章の中でそれらを読むことで、漢字全体を一つの単位として記憶させるものである。構成要素分析教授法は個々の漢字を構成要素にまで完全に分解し、それぞれの構成要素に固有の意味を付与し、その後でそれらの構成要素を関連付けるようなストーリーを記憶し、元の漢字の本来の意味を思い出させるというものである。本稿では、日本国内と国外という異なった状況における、これら二つの教授法の効果を比較検討した。日本国内外の被験者グループに対し、それぞれの教授法を週１回３週間実施した。被験者は毎回1 0個の漢字を学習し、その後短期記憶テストを受けた。４週目には長期記憶テストを実施し、さらに一ヶ月後の５回目のテスト時には追加的な長期記憶テストを実施した。この結果、構成要素分析法の教授法としての優位性が証明された。本稿では、漢字処理の深度、学習方法、日本国内外での差異を中心に議論を展開する。

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"The relative ease or difficulty of the beginner reader's task will be influenced to a large extent by the features of the symbols he has to deal with, as well as by the nature of their relation to the spoken language" (Feitelson, 1972, p. 18). We suggest that this is equally true for second language learners. All major systems of writing are based on spoken languages, though they differ radically in the ways in which they correlate to primary spoken languages and the linguistic level at which the mapping of script unit to linguistic unit occurs. In alphabetic orthographies, the basic script unit corresponds to the phoneme; in logographic orthographies it corresponds to the lexical unit or to the morpheme (Klima, 1972). Logographies involve considerably more orthographic units than the alphabet (Lado, 1957; Wang, 1981).

The focus of the research literature on kanji has been on the cognitive processing of the fluent native speaker. Alphabetic and logographic writing systems apparently activate different coding and memory mechanisms such that logographic characters produce significantly more visual information in memory, whereas alphabetic words result in a more integrated code involving visual, phonological, and semantic information (Chen & Juola, 1982; Chen & Tsoi, 1990). However, the question of the importance of phonetic representation in processing logographic scripts is far from settled (Horodeck, 1987). Tzeng, Hung & Wang (1977), Steinberg & Yamada (1978), and Perfetti & Zhang (1995) indicate that a degree of phonetic recoding occurs with processing Chinese characters. Other researchers have found that "the direct processing from visual (graphemic) codes to meaning (semantic codes) is possible" (Saito, 1981, p. 273). The *orthographic depth hypothesis* (ODH) (Frost, 1994; Frost, Katz & Bentin, 1987) proposes that with a deep orthography such as kanji, a direct route is activated primarily and word phonology is retrieved through lexical access. Evidence exists to support this hypothesis (Perfetti & Zhang, 1991). Recent studies on Chinese and English indicate that while there is an automatic phonological coding involved in all languages, orthographic variation in the degree of involvement of phonological coding is observed across languages (Perfetti, Zhang & Berent, 1992).

While some research has addressed the acquisition of kanji in the native Japanese child (Mann, 1986) and in the second language learner (Flaherty, 1995; Chikamatsu, 1996), many important questions concerning kanji pedagogy remain unanswered. In Japanese second language (L2) education, the importance of kanji knowledge has been stressed by a number of researchers (Met, 1988; Kawai, 1991). Various methods have been suggested (Gray, 1960; Downing, 1973), but none have been assessed in terms of their effectiveness. The purpose of this paper is to examine the effectiveness of different methods of teaching kanji to L2 learners both in Japan and outside of Japan. However, the question as to whether romanization should be introduced prior to kanji has led to much argument (Harries, 1989; Steinberg & Yamada, 1978; Everson, 1988) and will not be considered in the present paper.

Methods of Kanji Instruction

There are many ways of teaching learners how to read kanji but they may be broadly divided into two general methods. One will be referred to in this paper as the Whole-kanji method and the other as the Component Analysis method. The question as to which is better echoes the historic thirty-year debate between the whole-word supporters and phonics school in teaching English reading (see Smith, 1988).

The Whole-kanji method of teaching kanji to alphabet-habituated L2 students is essentially the same method Japanese teachers traditionally employ in the elementary classroom. The children memorize kanji as whole units by repeatedly writing them in isolation and by reading them in controlled reading passages. Writing the characters in space (kusho), according to Sasaki (1987), has two functions: "first, providing motor- or action-based representation and second, aiding a conscious mental process by an external action" (p. 146). Pictures used as visual memory aids, analysis of the radical (an element within a more complex character with a similar conceptual meaning), and etymological explanations may be used in the early stages of kanji learning to motivate Japanese children, but most teachers eventually abandon these approaches as more and more kanji are presented (Sakamoto & Makita, 1973; Kiss, 1991). The most widely used textbooks in post-secondary programs in the United States, according to a survey by Jorden and Lambert (1991), are *Learn Japanese* (Young & Nakajima, 1985) and *Reading Japanese* (Jorden & Chaplin, 1977). Both of these texts are representative of the Whole-kanji method.

On the other hand, the Component Analysis method of teaching kanji involves analyzing each kanji to be learned by breaking it down entirely into components (i.e., not simply pointing out the radical), attaching meaning to each of these components, and then having learners remember a story which ties the components together and calls to mind the essential meaning of the kanji (De Roo, 1982). While the stories of some Component Analysis materials are based partly on etymological explanations or historical research on ancient Chinese life, Heisig (1986) takes a more whimsical approach. He suggests that the

L2 learner should "make a sort of alphabet out of [the components], assign to each its own image, fuse them together to form other images and so build up [a] complex tableau in imagination" (p. 7). Heisig gives his own "story" for each of the first 508 kanji he presents and asks learners to create their own stories for the others, stories that will "shock the mind's eye . . . so as to brand it with an image intimately associated with the (meaning)" (p. 9).

Although the role of component shapes, context and frequency on L2 acquisition has been examined (Matsunaga, 1994; Harada, 1985; Everson, 1992; Hatasa, 1993), kanji acquisition research so far has not analyzed the relative success in terms of L2 reading progress. It has been suggested that, "in learning to write Chinese, the alphabet habituated person simply has to start afresh" (Lado, 1957, p. 108). However, it is possible that the Whole-kanji approach is inappropriate for adult L2 learners, who bring a mechanism for recognition of their own native written language to the task of kanji learning which can provide a useful bridge for developing a recognition mechanism for kanji. Adult L2 learners also have much higher powers of abstraction than children, as well as a facility with generalized principles (Lado, 1957; Heisig, 1986). McGinnis (1995) suggests that the greatest challenge teachers of kanji face is to overcome their own notion that kanji are extremely difficult so that they will not pass this psychological handicap on to their students.

The present work is an attempt to approach this challenge in terms of assessing the effectiveness of *two* different methods of teaching kanji to adult L2 learners in *two* different settings: in Ireland, a Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) setting where the subject is exposed to kanji only in the classroom setting, and in Japan, a Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) setting where the subject is surrounded by constant kanji stimulation. The difference between studying a language in the country where it is spoken or in one own's country cannot be underestimated (Jones, 1989).

The Study

The purpose of this study is to focus on the visual perception of word forms and their meanings, and the ability to translate the printed symbols into verbal forms.[1] Reading is a complex task involving many processes and is influenced by a number of factors. Thus both the recognition and production performance of the word forms will be considered (See Ke, 1996; Mori, 1995).

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be examined.

1. The adult L2 learners of kanji in both Japan (JSL) and Ireland[2] (JFL) will benefit more from instruction using the Component Analysis method than instruction using the Whole-kanji method in both the short term and the long term.
2. The adult L2 learners will benefit more in accuracy of writing kanji from the Whole-kanji method than the Component Analysis method. This hypothesis is based on the belief that repetitive kinesthetic action enhances kanji learning, but no investigation of whether this is actually true will be carried out in this preliminary study.
3. The adult L2 learners' ability to access the meaning of the kanji will be enhanced more by the Component Analysis method than by the Whole-kanji method. This is suggested to be due to the heightened power of abstraction and semantic creativity involved in use of the Component Analysis method, although, again, this will not be investigated in the present study.
4. The JSL learners in Japan will outperform their Irish counterparts in both reading and writing measures of accuracy due to their constant exposure to kanji stimuli.

Method

Subjects

Fifty-three potential subjects, all native English speakers, were recruited at two separate locations, one group in Japan ($n = 19$) and the other in Ireland ($n = 34$). Details regarding these subjects are given below. Three criteria were decided upon in order to choose the subjects: the presence of matched kanji knowledge, generally equivalent proficiency in spoken Japanese and the lack of significant difference on two types of IQ measure. The subjects were self-selected insofar as they replied to an advertisement made at a public lecture in Japan concerning the experiment.

In order to control for current kanji knowledge and Japanese proficiency, a kanji pretest was administered. The pretest consisted of two parts; the first part was based on kanji which also act as radicals and the second on more advanced kanji. The first part consisted of a list of 16 words in English (e.g., mouth, ear, woman) for which the kanji are basic characters and also act as radicals (see Appendix 1). The second part consisted of a list of 48 concepts given in English (e.g., employment, bridge) (see Appendix 2). The Japanese Ministry of Education requires elementary school children to have mastered certain kanji by specific grades in school. Eight kanji were selected at random from each of the first six grades to make the list of 48. The subjects were asked to write the kanji and pronunciation (in kana or romanized script) for each English word. Only subjects who knew at least 8-10 basic kanji from the first list and 13-15 kanji from the second list in the pretest qualified as subjects. Subjects who knew more than 30 kanji were also eliminated. The potential subjects were considered to know the kanji only if the kanji could be written correctly and one of its pronunciations noted. The criteria here for "knowing the kanji" were the ability to pronounce and write the character. While it could be argued that simple recognition of the kanji might tap into the passive knowledge of the L2 learners (particularly those who might have learned the character, had not used it in a while and could neither access the pronunciation of it nor reproduce it in writing), "reading" here is deemed to involve the visual perception of the word, the elaboration of both meaning and pronunciation to symbol, and the ability to reproduce the symbol on comprehending the message once decoded.

The subjects were also required to have sufficient spoken Japanese proficiency to comprehend and respond to basic conversation. This was assessed by the experimenters, who speak Japanese fluently, and also through self-assessment by the subjects. While the subjects' self-reported proficiency in spoken Japanese was approximately matched between the JSL and JFL groups, those subjects recruited in Japan may have known more vocabulary than those in Ireland, by virtue of having lived in Japan for an average of three years.

Two types of IQ tests were administered, a visual test (Visual Estimation: ET3) and a verbal test (Verbal Comprehension: VT1) (Saville & Holdsworth, 1979). These tests had reliability estimates of .83 and .80 respectively. Paired and unpaired *t*-tests were used to examine the significance of differences in the test scores of subjects assigned in the two instructional situations.

Application of these criteria drastically reduced the original potential subject sample of 53. Twenty-nine subjects were chosen to participate in the experiment (15 in Japan and 14 in Ireland). Fourteen subjects (7 in Japan and 7 in Ireland) were randomly assigned to the Component Analysis method instruction group and 15 (8 in Japan and 7 in Ireland) to the Whole-kanji method instruction group. As measured by an independent t-test, there were no significant differences between the subjects assigned to the two methods on either IQ measure (subjects living in Japan: verbal IQ: t = .91, df = 13, $p > .01$; visual IQ: t = 1.06, df = 13, $p < .01$. Subjects living in Ireland: verbal IQ: t = .49, df = 12, $p > .01$; visual IQ: t = .55, df = 12, $p > .01$).[3]

Subjects in Japan: Fifteen adults (six males and nine females) aged 20-45 (Median age = 28) participated in the study. All were resident in Japan at the time of testing and had lived in Japan for some time (three years on average). Some subjects had taken brief courses in Japanese but none were taking classes at the time of the study. For the most part they were all self-taught in Japanese, and their motivation to learn the language was for practical reasons. They were all alphabet-habituated native English speakers. All had normal or corrected-to-normal vision in both eyes. Each subject was paid transportation costs to the experiment site (approximately $10 per session).

For practical reasons, the subject population in Japan was recruited prior to the Irish group. It was difficult to find people in Japan who were willing to commit themselves to the time required for the entire experiment. The kanji knowledge of these subjects was then matched with the Irish group; it was found that the skill level of students studying Japanese intensively for six months was equivalent to those who had resided in Japan without long-term formal education. Although it was impossible to control for the subjects' individual kanji input between sessions, in an attempt to control for the kanji taught in the sessions, all materials used in the experiment were taken from the subjects after each session and given to them only after the post-LTM test had been completed.

Subjects in Ireland: Fourteen undergraduate students of Japanese (three males and 11 females), aged 18-19, from Dublin City University, Ireland participated in the study. All had studied Japanese intensively as a foreign language for six months. None of the subjects had ever been to Japan or any other kanji-using country. Their motivation to study Japanese was to gain a degree in the language and pursue a career in the field. All were alphabet-habituated native English speakers. All had normal or corrected-to-normal vision in both eyes. Each subject was paid $15 for participation.

Materials

Two sets of teaching materials corresponding to the two teaching methods being investigated were employed. For the Whole-kanji method, Jorden and Chaplin's *Reading Japanese* (1977) was used. For the Component Analysis method, Heisig's *Remembering the Kanji* I (1986) and De Roo's *2001 Kanji* (1982) were employed.

Design and Procedure

The experiment consisted of five sessions for each method. The first four sessions, each lasting two hours, were held at intervals of one week and a follow-up post-test was given one month later. All sessions for each method were administered in a group setting. All explanations and instructions were given verbally in English. The experimenters acted as the instructors: one experimenter was in Ireland and taught both methods; the other experimenter was in Japan and taught both methods.

The kanji for the sessions were carefully chosen from the pre-test list (see Appendix 3 for the list). Kanji that were known (as indicated by the pre-test) were rejected. Thirty kanji were chosen randomly from the list of unknown kanji. It is important to note that no subject knew the Japanese word or the written form of these 30 kanji prior to the experiment. The set of 30 kanji was randomly assigned to three groups of 10 each.

In each of the first three sessions, one group of 10 kanji was taught for a total of 100 minutes (10 minutes dedicated to each kanji), and a short-term memory test (STM), lasting approximately 20 minutes, was given immediately afterwards. All tests were unannounced. In the STM test (production only), the subjects were given a list of English words corresponding to the kanji they had just learned in that particular session and were asked to write the kanji and one pronunciation for each word. Since three STM tests were conducted, each subject therefore had three pronunciation scores and three writing scores. The three pronunciation and three writing scores were averaged to give each subject one score as STM score for pronunciation and writing respectively

In the fourth session the subjects were asked to complete a surprise long-term memory (LTM) test over the 30 kanji that had been taught in the three previous sessions and were asked to write a short report of their impressions of the methodology employed. The LTM test consisted of two parts, production and recognition. The first part had a list of English words and the subject was asked to write the corresponding kanji. When the first part was completed, the experimenter took the list from the subject and administered the second part, which was a list of the 30 kanji; the subject then had to write the meaning and pronunciation of each kanji.

The fifth session took place one month after administration of the LTM test and consisted of a post-LTM test lasting one and a half hours. The post-LTM test was identical to the long-term memory test, and again was unannounced.

Instruction of the Two Methods

The procedures for instructing each method were as follows:

Whole-kanji Method: The subjects were given a copy of each kanji with the stroke order outlined, a writing grid, and a number of sentences written in natural Japanese in which the kanji being taught appeared several times. These sentences were taken from the Jorden text (Jorden

& Chaplin, 1977). The subjects were asked to look at the kanji while the instructor wrote it on the board. The shape of the kanji was noted and the stroke order was counted aloud. Various pronunciations were written on the board and the subjects were asked to repeat them aloud. They read some sentences in which the kanji appeared, and then wrote the kanji eight times on the writing grid provided. A dictation exercise followed during which the subjects were not allowed to look at any of the teaching materials.

After all kanji for the session had been introduced, the subjects were given appropriate contextual reading material in which the 10 kanji appeared, again from the Jorden textbook. They were asked to read the material silently, and then aloud.

Component Analysis Method: The subjects were given a worksheet (from Noguchi, 1995) with two writing spaces for each kanji. One space was a box in which the kanji would be written in its entire form and the other was a space in which its components would be broken down. Also on the worksheet were spaces for noting pronunciations, compounds (*jukugo*), names of the compounds and a story which tied the components together to provide an aid for remembering the shape and meaning of the kanji. The worksheet was filled in entirely by the subject alone.

The experimenter then wrote the kanji on the board, noting the stroke order. The subjects were asked to write the kanji on their worksheet once, calling aloud the order number of the strokes of the kanji as they wrote it. The various pronunciations and one compound containing the kanji were written on the board and then noted on the worksheet by the subjects. A component grid divided up into boxes was drawn on the board and the components of that particular kanji were noted. The story logic (as outlined by Heisig, 1986 and De Roo, 1982) which linked the components together was explained and noted on the worksheets by the subjects. They were then asked to put their worksheets aside. They also drew the kanji on each other's backs, repeating the story as they drew each component. They were allowed to review any of the 10 kanji from the session at any point during the session as time permitted.

Statistical Analysis of the Data

Analysis of variance procedures (a two-way ANOVA) were used to determine between-group differences in the STM, LTM and post-LTM test scores of the two treatment groups according to whether they were in the JFL or JSL instructional situation. A two x two cell design was used, followed by Tukey tests (given as *t* values) to further determine where differences lay. As mentioned, an independent *t*-test was used to find whether there were significant differences between IQ test scores for subjects in each instructional group. The alpha level was set at $p < .05$.

Results

The hypotheses given in the introduction will now be considered in turn.

Hypothesis 1: The adult learners of kanji in both Japan (JSL) and Ireland (JFL) will benefit more from instruction using the Component Analysis method than instruction using the Whole-kanji method in both the short term and the long term.

The effectiveness of each method was assessed in terms of the ability of the subjects to remember one pronunciation of the kanji, its meaning, and its written form. Effectiveness was also assessed in terms of the STM, LTM and post-LTM test scores. The performance results of the two methods in terms of the STM, LTM and Post-LTM test scores of the two subject groups in the two instructional situations are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Average Scores for STM (pronunciation and written form), LTM (pronunciation, meaning and written form) and Post LTM (pronunciation, meaning and written form) tests* of the two subject groups. (The mean results are shown with the standard deviations in italics underneath.)

	STM		LTM			POST	LTM	
	Pron.	Writ.	Pron.	Mean.	Writ.	Pron.	Mean.	Writ.
Component Analysis								
Japan ss	9.60	9.33	20.50	25.33	14.16	18.33	23.83	14.16
($n = 7$)	*.81*	*1.21*	*5.64*	*6.12*	*10.10*	*8.11*	*18.33*	*9.62*
Irish ss	8.85	9.00	12.00	19.71	8.42	12.85	15.85	7.42
($n = 7$)	*1.06*	*.81*	*7.34*	*6.55*	*8.24*	*6.93*	*7.15*	*6.97*
Whole-kanji method								
Japan ss	9.00	7.11	12.33	14.44	2.88	11.11	12.88	2.55
($n = 8$)	*1.11*	*2.36*	*5.59*	*3.67*	*2.08*	*5.81*	*4.75*	*1.81*
Irish ss	6.00	3.57	6.28	7.42	2.42	9.57	12.42	6.00
($n = 7$)	*1.82*	*1.81*	*4.57*	*4.72*	*2.37*	*4.19*	*6.16*	*3.05*

* The maximum correct scores for the STM tests were 10, for the LTM tests 30, and for the Post-LTM 30.

Two-way ANOVA analysis indicated that there was a significant difference between the two methods in favor of the Component Analysis method in the STM test scores in terms of both pronunciation ($F(1, 28) = 13.70$, $p < .05$) and writing ($F(1, 28) = 34.19$, $p < .05$ in both groups of subjects. This advantage was further revealed in the LTM test scores of the characters (meaning: $F(1, 28) = 34.69$, $p < .01$; pronunciation: $F(1, 28) = 9.95$, $p < .05$; writing: $F(1, 28) = 13.41$, $p < .05$).

However, for the post-LTM test (i.e., the test which followed one month after the LTM test and 5 to 7 weeks after the kanji had actually been taught), the difference between the effectiveness of the two methods appeared to depend on whether the subjects were exposed to kanji only in the classroom (as with the JFL subjects in Ireland) or whether they had constant kanji input from the environment (as with the JSL subjects in Japan). For subjects tested in Ireland, while the trend was still in favor of the Component Analysis method, there was no statistically significant difference, as determined by Tukey tests, between the success of the two methods in terms of recalling the pronunciation of the kanji ($t = -1.07$, $df = 12$, $p > .05$), the meaning ($t = -.96$, $df = 12$, $p < .05$) or the written form ($t = .49$, $df = 12$, $p > .05$). However, in Japan, the trend in favor of those who used the Component Analysis method continued in both the recall of the written form ($t = 2.92$, $df = 13$, $p < .05$) and the meaning ($t = 3.06$, $df = 13$, $p < .05$) of the kanji. In terms of remembering the pronunciation of the kanji, there was no significant difference between the two methods ($t = 1.88$, $df = 13$, $p > .05$).

Hypothesis 2: The L2 learners will benefit more in accuracy of writing kanji from the Whole-kanji method than the Component Analysis method.

Two-way ANOVA analysis indicated that the subjects who were instructed by the Component Analysis method scored significantly higher than those instructed by the Whole-kanji method in terms of accuracy in writing the kanji in the STM tests ($F(1, 28) = 34.19$, $p < .01$) and the LTM test ($F(1, 28) = 13.41$, $p < .01$). However, follow-up Tukey tests comparing the post-LTM test scores of the instruction groups for each setting suggests that this trend continued only for the subjects in Japan ($t = 3.06$, $df = 13$, $p < .01$). For the subjects in Ireland, there was no difference between the two methods ($t = -.96$, $df = 12$, $p > .01$).

The Two-way ANOVA procedures revealed an interesting method-by-country interaction in the written part of the post-LTM test scores ($F(1, 28) = 5.49$, $p < .05$). A Tukey test indicated that subjects instructed by the Component Analysis method in Japan outscored their counterparts in Ireland ($t = 2.07$, $df = 27$, $p < .05$). In addition, the Component Analysis group outscored Whole-kanji subjects in both Japan ($t = 3.76$, $df = 27$, $p < .01$ and Ireland ($t = 2.51$, $df = 27$, $p < .05$).

Hypothesis 3: The L2 learners' ability to access the meaning of the kanji will be enhanced more by the Component Analysis method than by the Whole-kanji method.

Two-way ANOVA procedures also indicated that those subjects who were trained by the Component Analysis method in both Ireland and Japan outperformed their Whole-kanji counterparts in terms of accessing the meaning of the kanji in the LTM test ($F(1, 28) = 34.69$, $p < .01$). However, the Component Analysis method scores on the post-LTM test were significantly higher only for the JSL group, as revealed by a Tukey test (Japan: $t = 3.06$, $df = 13$, $p < .01$; Ireland: $t = -.96$, $df = 12$, $p > .01$).

Hypothesis 4: The JSL learners in Japan will outperform their Irish counterparts in both reading and writing measures of accuracy due to their constant exposure to kanji stimuli.

Two-way ANOVA procedures indicated that the subjects in Japan scored significantly higher than their Irish counterparts in the STM tests (pronunciation: $F(1, 28) = 16.02$, $p < .01$; writing: $F(1, 28) = 8.75$, $p < .01$). There was an interaction effect between the method employed and the location (JFL versus JSL), with the JSL group in Japan showing significantly higher scores (pronunciation: $F(1, 28) = 5.29$, $p < .05$; writing: $F(1, 28) = 6.00$, $p < .05$). Subjects in Japan also scored higher than subjects in Ireland on the LTM test (meaning: $F(1, 28) = 10.31$, $p < .01$; pronunciation: $F(1, 28) = 10.93$, $p < .01$; writing: $F(1, 28) = 1.72$, $p > .01$) and the post-LTM test (meaning: $F(1, 28) = 9.01$, $p < .01$; pronunciation: $F(1, 28) = 10.23$, $p < .01$; writing: $F(1, 28) = 2.01$, $p > .01$).

On completion of the experiment, the subjects were given a chance to express their opinions of the method employed. Their impressions were enlightening. Among those who were taught using the Whole-kanji method, many noted that the "use of texts was quite effective" and reading new kanji in context made the practice "rewarding;" however, "writing kanji after kanji was very boring". Those who were taught using the Component Analysis method found it "very worthwhile," "interesting" and "easy to remember the shape and meaning by breaking the kanji down and learning an interesting or bizarre story." However, it was "difficult to remember the readings (*yomi*) because we mainly concentrated on the actual writing of the kanji rather than the pronunciation." Indeed, this comment supports the statistical findings.

Discussion

Support for an Eclectic Approach

A variety of studies concerning memory have been discussed in terms of a level of processing model (Craik & Lockhart, 1972; Craik & Tulving, 1975; Craik, 1990). According to this model, information can be encoded in multiple forms within memory; this could be in terms of semantic, phonemic or visual features, in terms of verbal associates, or as an image. The analysis procedure in memory moves from the sensory level to matching or pattern recognition and finally to semantic enrichment. This model implies greater cognitive involvement at each successive level and it has been demonstrated that stimuli processed to a deep semantic level are better remembered than those processed to a supposedly more shallow level (Frase and Kammann, 1974; Klein & Saltz, 1976; Bellezza, Cheesman & Reddy, 1977). The subjects in Japan in the Component Analysis group commented that they made associations from kanji they had seen in their local environment. In terms of both physical location and time input, the local environment (Jones, 1989) is identified as an important factor in L2 education. The findings reported here support an eclectic interaction of teaching practices which draws benefits from each method: Component analysis, with its emphasis on writing the kanji as components (e.g., on the backs of classmates) and the Whole-kanji method with its emphasis on the contextualized reading of the kanji. We suggest that such an eclectic approach would contribute to deeper processing and therefore a better memory of the kanji.

Learning Styles and Kanji Instruction

Many studies of success in L2 learning have focused on language learning styles (see Ehrman & Oxford, 1995). Language learning styles encompass the general approaches which students are predominantly disposed to use in order to learn a new language (Ehrman, 1990; Oxford, 1990; Oxford, Ehrman, & Lavine, 1991).

It has been suggested that different learners will respond well to various sub-components of an eclectic methodology. For example, highly sequential learners will probably be more comfortable with a relatively large amount of teacher-led drill. More random learners may want to use relatively non-mechanical approaches. Analytic and global associational procedures (the Component Analysis method) work well together with exposure in context and practice (the Whole-kanji method) to integrate kanji into LTM networks of meaning and experience. Perhaps the advantage of the JSL learners in Japan, who receive constant meaning-focused input outside the classroom, could be simulated for the less fortunate classroom-bound JFL learners by more extensive use of the World Wide Web, with its numerous Japanese sites.

Reading

The value of reading to overall second language acquisition in both the home country of the L2 learner and the home country of the target language has been widely acknowledged in the applied linguistics literature (Genessee, 1979). Conducting cross-cultural research involves many organizational and practical difficulties such as matching subject groups on age, profession, social status, motivation, exposure to the L2 and a complex puzzle of other variables. Unfortunately, in the present exploratory study, it was impossible to control a number of variables. Future research in the field should attempt to refine these shortcomings with stringent control on the matching of larger groups of subjects.

Conclusion

In this exploratory study of kanji instruction methods with adult learners, Component Analysis was found to be superior to the Whole-kanji method traditionally employed with Japanese children. The Component Analysis method appeared to be particularly useful in helping the subject access the meaning of the character. Adult learners approaching a second writing system already have an advantage over the child initially approaching the writing system for the first time; they understand that writing is a symbol for a sound and they have higher powers of abstraction than children. Further investigation into the Component Analysis method in terms of the nature of the particular kanji and the application of different learning styles would further enrich our understanding of the "depth of processing" kanji and give new directions for JFL instruction methodology.

Dr. Mary Flaherty is a lecturer in the Psychology Department of the National University of Ireland, University College, Dublin. She conducts research on how kanji is processed and memorized and has published in a number of international journals. She is currently investigating how deaf people acquire kanji. Address: Department of Psychology, University College Dublin, Dublin 4, Ireland. E-mail: flaherty@macollamh.ucd.ie.

Mary Sisk Noguchi is associate professor at Meijo University, Nagoya. She researches how second language learners acquire kanji and has presented at JALT meetings and other venues on this topic. Address: Department of Commerce and Economics, Meijo University, Junior College Division, 1-501 Shiogamaguchi, Tenpaku-ju, Nagoya, Japan 468-0073.

Notes

1. This focus, strongly influenced by Harris (1969), is in the Thorndike mould (1917).
2. Subjects were recruited in Ireland for practical reasons.
3. This level of statistical significance gives a 99% measure of confidence ($p < .01$) that the conclusion is not simply due to chance.

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Appendix 1

Please write the kanji (no readings) for the concepts below:

Example
fire 火

mouth

moon

woman

tree

heaven

day

bamboo

eye

ear

shell

soil

rain

thread

cow

strength

mountain

Appendix 2

Please write the kanji and as many readings as you know for each of the following 48 concepts:

Example
vehicle 車 しゃ、くるま

sky
dog
blue
red
name
sound
left (vs. right)
right (vs. left)
distant
make
count, number
younger sister

borrow
type
quiet
rule
harm, damage
rejoice, happy
employment
draw near
special
duty
lend
suitable

snow
reason
sing
daytime, noon
side
bridge
steps, story
grade, rank
harbor
finish
hot (weather)
war

government
blame, liability
laugh
separate (verb)
warm
wages
be in difficulty
serve, employed
settle
young
garden
history

Appendix 3

空犬青赤名音左右

借型静治害喜職寄

遠作数妹雪理歌昼

特務貸適政責笑割

横橋階級砦終暑戦

暖賃困勤済若庭歴

Point to Point

Two Reactions to Susser's "EFL's Othering of Japan: Orientalism in English Language Teaching"

Paul Stapleton
Hokkaido University

Bernard Susser (1998) argues that EFL researchers are guilty of Orientalism in their depiction of Japanese students. For the framework of his critique, Susser uses Said's concept of Orientalism, which outlines various ways in which Western researchers, in their attempt to explain the Orient, have instead, dominated and restructured it. Susser claims that much research on Japanese learners of English falls into the same genre and he identifies four characteristics of Orientalism to illustrate his point: essentializing, stereotyping, representing, and othering.

Unfortunately, in choosing the Orientalist framework, Susser has given us a flawed paper. As an overreaction to legitimate concerns about stereotyping and the overwhelmingly Western-biased perspective of scholarly research, Orientalism tends to condemn legitimate tools of inquiry because of the results they have produced.

For example, to show the dangers of essentializing, Susser points to several studies that discuss tendencies towards collectivism in Japanese society. Here he does a good job of criticizing and debunking statements made without substantiation (pp. 61-63). However, Susser not only puts into doubt Japan's collective nature, he also claims that "the notion of Japan as a group-oriented society is not a useful explanation of . . . Japanese students' behavior" (p. 63). In criticizing unsubstantiated statements and giving countering evidence, Susser does us a service, but his use of Orientalism to smother all discussion about a well-substantiated cultural pattern (i.e., collective tendencies) is unjustified.

In order to understand behavioral differences among groups, researchers have identified various patterns. For example, constructs such as power distance (degree of hierarchy) (Hofstede, 1991), collectivity

(Triandis, 1995), communicative context (Hall, 1976), and time orientation (Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede & Bond 1984, 1988) are tools which quantify behavior and make it accessible for analysis. However, Susser labels these tools "Orientalist" and suggests that those who call the Japanese group-oriented are stereotyping (pp. 56-57). The point here is not whether the Japanese are group-oriented. The point is that the legitimacy of the construct, (i.e., the degree of collectivity) is questioned. Even though the same construct points to individualistic tendencies in North Americans, Susser mentions little about Occidentalism.

On one hand, he asks for evidence (p. 63) to support claims which he labels as stereotyping, yet he then dismisses the means to supply this evidence (pp. 56-57). However, "the anti-Orientalist cannot have it both ways—denouncing the pursuit of distinctive characteristics as 'essentialist,' while calling for an understanding of intergroup differences" (Landes, 1998, p. 416).

In other sections, Susser again raises legitimate objections but then extrapolates these into charges of Orientalism. One example cited is an article I wrote (Stapleton, 1995) suggesting a link between Confucianism and the behavior of Japanese students. Susser raises some legitimate concerns about the extent to which Confucianism explains the behavior of Japanese students, but the bigger issue here is his objection to the mere mention of Confucianism as a means to explain and understand behavior. According to Susser, "the use of Confucianism, [is] an archetypal symbol of the Oriental Other" (p. 54). He also claims that describing Japan in Confucianist terms makes the East mysterious (and inferior). By implication, then, Eastern scholars cannot use the word "Socratic" when describing Western teaching methods. That, of course, would be making the West mysterious (and inferior) and be "Occidentalizing." The sword cuts both ways.

Susser proposes three ways to avoid Orientalizing: 1) reading more critically, 2) researching carefully, and 3) not publishing research that Orientalizes. The first two are laudable, but the third amounts to censorship. The anti-Orientalist is, in essence, against studying distinctions and "as any good comparativist knows, distinctions are the stuff of understanding" (Landes, 1998, p. 416). Although generalizing is often bad, is it not useful to look for patterns of behavior? The understanding that arises from such "Orientalizing" surely does more good than harm.

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James J. Scott

Bernard Susser (1998, pp. 49-82) asserts that the "same Orientalist discourse" that Edward W. Said describes in *Orientalism* "permeates the ESL/EFL literature" on Japan (p. 50). However, Susser's essay fails to demonstrate that the discourse he presents is, in fact, the same discourse described by Said. Susser also fails to provide sufficient evidence to justify use of the word "permeates."

Susser quotes Said's capsule description of Orientalism: "'Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as . . . a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'" (p. 51, my ellipsis). It would seem to follow that an ESL/EFL work on Japan is in the Orientalist tradition if it assists or is intended to assist the West in dominating, restructuring, or having authority over Japan. However, Susser uses different criteria. He says, "For our purposes, a work is in the Orientalist discourse vis à vis the Japanese learner of English if it has the following characteristics," after which he lists othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing (p. 51). He offers no rationale for adopting this approach other than to note that Said "mentions" these traits (p. 51). However, this is not the same as using these traits to determine whether a work is in the Orientalist discourse. Susser fails to address the question of whether the works he describes actually assist the West in achieving the goals of Orientalism—that is, dominating, restructuring, or having control over an Oriental society (in this case, Japan). Hence, he fails to demonstrate that the discourse he describes is identical to the discourse of Said.

Further, to support the claim that a particular discourse permeates a given literature, we must tell our readers what proportion of a randomly-selected sample taken from that literature can be assigned to the discourse in question. This Susser fails to do. Instead, he merely cites approximately 40 works (by my count) that, in his view, provide "clear examples of the four major characteristics" (p. 54) of Orientalist discourse. Citing 40-odd works as examples tells us nothing about the thousand or more other works that have been published in this field; *The Language Teacher* alone has published several hundred ESL/EFL articles on Japan. Given the large number of works that have been published, we could easily find 40 or more examples that exhibit none of the traits mentioned by Susser. In determining whether Susser's discourse "permeates" the literature, those 40 examples would be just as relevant (or irrelevant) as the examples cited by Susser.

Given Said's definition of Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (see above), we should exercise extreme caution in claiming that the authors of ESL/EFL works on Japan are engaged in Orientalist discourse. I am not suggesting that we should abstain from making such claims, regardless of their merits; rather, I am suggesting that, if we make such claims, we should be prepared to support them with evidence more substantial than that offered in Susser's essay.

The characteristics described by Susser—othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing—are endemic in bad writing regardless of whether the subject of that writing has anything to do with the Orient. There is no immediately obvious reason to assume that ESL/EFL articles on Japan are any more (or less) likely to display these defects than works in any other field. In the absence of solid evidence to the contrary, it is more plausible (and more humane) to attribute such defects to the human tendency to err than it is to assume that the works displaying these defects are part of an Orientalist discourse.

The Author Responds

Bernard Susser
Doshisha Women's Junior College

Researching and writing the Orientalism article was a valuable experience for me; I am very pleased that it has in turn stimulated *JALT Journal* readers to contribute their thoughts on the issues I raised.

Professor Stapleton objects to my use of Said's (1978/1994) "Orientalism" as a framework to critique ESL literature on Japan, claiming that it "tends to condemn legitimate tools of inquiry because of the results they have produced" (p. 79). However, if such "legitimate tools" frequently produce bad results, it may be time to send them in for repair.

Stapleton's main example is my casting doubt on "Japan's collective nature" (p. 79). My paraphrase of Befu's (1980) title, "A critique of the group model of Japanese society" somehow serves to "smother all discussion" (p. 79). However, given my statement that "groups certainly play an important part in Japanese society and education" (Susser, 1998, p. 57), Stapleton retreats to a different position, that I am questioning the "legitimacy of the construct" of the "degree of collectivity" (p. 80). He gives no specific quotation to substantiate this accusation. I agree with Sugimoto (1997), who accepts constructs such as "collectivism" and "individualism" but questions the way they have been used to describe Japanese society (pp. 2-13). Further, in their study of American and Japanese day-care centers, Fujita and Sano (1988) found that "the Japanese teachers do not interpret independence in the same way as the American teachers" (p. 85). In short, the construct itself is, if not illusive, at least elusive.

The quotation from Landes suggests that Said denounces the "pursuit of distinctive characteristics as 'essentialist'" (cited in Stapleton, p. 80). My understanding of Said is just the opposite: that essentializing is the act of ignoring "distinctive characteristics" (Susser, 1998, p. 53). I have criticized several works particularly because they ignored "distinctive characteristics" in favor of sweeping generalizations (for further examples, see Stapleton 1997, 1998).

Stapleton's next point is my "objection to the mere mention of Confucianism" (p. 80). However, my objection is to its incorrect use as a trope for "the mysterious Orient." Equally objectionable is the term "Socratic" used as a synecdoche for Western teaching methods.

Finally, Stapleton accuses me of advocating "censorship" (p. 80) by urging journal editors not to publish material which treats Japan within an Orientalist discourse. For example, if a manuscript purporting to explain "The Role of Confucianism in Japanese Education" (Stapleton, 1995) uses "Confucianism" as a cliché and does not refer to a single specialized work on Confucianism in Japan (e.g., Kassel, 1996; Maruyama, 1974; Nosco, 1984; Rubinger, 1982), it should be returned for rewriting after substantial research. Stapleton calls this "censorship," but I call it "editorial responsibility" and "the maintenance of scholarly standards."

James A. Scott's first critique is that the characteristics of othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing are not the same as Said's definition of Orientalism. This is true. As I pointed out in my article (pp. 50-51), Said does not give a clear definition of Orientalism; this has been noted by others (e.g., Clifford, 1988, pp. 259). The four characteristics I use in my article are derived from my interpretation of Said's argument, heavily documented with citations from his book.

Scott's second point is that I have not done a statistical sampling of the literature so cannot say that the articles I cited form a discourse. This is a unique idea; Said presents no quantitative analysis and nothing like this is mentioned in the discourse studies cited in my article. Further, the works I cited were merely egregious examples of stereotypes that could be multiplied indefinitely. For example, Scott might have a hard time finding 40 works on the Japanese character that do *not* cite the proverb "the nail that stands out gets pounded down" as evidence of the group's power in Japan.

One does not need Orientalism to criticize stereotypes, essentializing, or factual errors. I used this construct because Said's point is that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. The constant repetition and cross-citation of clichés about Japan invest them with "a kind of intellectual *authority*" (Said, 1978/1994, p. 19; emphasis added) that obstructs our work as EFL teachers in Japan.

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A Reaction to Gorsuch's "*Yakudoku* EFL Instruction in Two Japanese High School Classrooms": *Yakudoku*, Grammar Translation, or Reading Methods?

Charles Jannuzi
Fukui University

In the last issue of *JALT Journal* Gorsuch (1998) cites a paper I wrote (Jannuzi, 1994). The first citation mentions my article as one that describes and comments on the *yakudoku* method (YDM). The article is next cited as one addressing the supposed deterministic "washback" effect of university entrance exams on English language teaching (ELT) at Japanese high schools. This response clarifies the article's contents.

My 1994 article makes no mention of the so-called YDM nor does it discuss, beyond a brief mention, the "washback" effect. I omitted the term *yakudoku* from my paper because in all sources consulted the Japanese scholars themselves translated *yakudoku* as a type of "grammar-translation" (see Tajima, 1978, who also contradicts Hino on whether *yakudoku* is distinct from grammar-translation). I ignored Hino's (1992) now influential use of the term because I felt he had not made a strong enough case for native *yakudoku* being essentially distinct from approaches in western foreign language teaching (FLT). Gorsuch agrees with Hino that there are significant differences between the western grammar-translation method (GTM) and the native YDM, for example, the balance of grammar with reading and translation and the direction of translation. With the YDM, some type of reading for understanding is the main goal, and translation is usually from the L2 to the L1. However, in the GTM tradition, grammar is regarded as the key skill which is supposed to enable the student to order language and translate it in either direction.

In my 1994 article I attempted to characterize the ELT that I found at junior and senior high schools in Fukui Prefecture. However, rather than use the term GTM, I opted for the term "reading method" (RM) as explained in Stern (1983, pp. 460-2). I felt it to be more accurate than GTM because most of the translation was from L2 into L1 (in agreement with Hino and Gorsuch), but, more importantly, the translation was done almost entirely by the teacher! Is it just possible that the Japanese use of the RM might reflect—as it did in the west—a pragmatic response to the GTM and the use of written texts in FLT? The term RM is more apt than GTM because of the structural syllabus which selects the target texts, the graded language, and the overall classroom objective of learning a FL while reading for understanding.

Finally, rather than begging the question of the reality of the GTM, RM or YDM, further inquiry might prove more useful if it were centered on teaching methods and classroom activities, with reference to Stern's (1992) universalist dichotomies: interlingual/crosslingual versus intralingual; analytic versus experiential; explicit versus implicit. I think that the data will show that much EFL in Japan is entrenched in the same strategies so often linked to grammar-translation: crosslingual, analytic, and explicit at the expense of intralingual, experiential and implicit; or, in other words, what McArthur (1983) calls the "conservative position" on methods and approaches to ELT.

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The Author Responds

Greta Gorsuch
Mejiro University

I would like to thank Mr. Jannuzi for his interest in my article. However, he implies that I have misinterpreted and misused his 1994 article in my study, and I must disagree. Indeed, Mr. Jannuzi never used the term *yakudoku* in his article, yet he described classroom activities (1994, p. 122) that bore a striking resemblance to the activities I observed during the data collection for my study. By the time I read Mr. Jannuzi's article, quite late in the project, I had already characterized the teachers' activities as *yakudoku* activities for reasons discussed below. That Mr. Jannuzi characterized these same activities as "Reading Method" activities I will also comment on below.

It is true that Mr. Jannuzi makes only brief mention of university exam washback in his article (p. 122). I included his article along with ten others (Gorsuch, 1998, p. 29) because I felt that his observations were germane to the general issue of understanding the tangled relationships of university entrance exams to high school EFL instruction. Should I have limited the citations to articles that were wholly focused on the washback effects of university entrance exams? No, I do not think so. This is a highly complex topic, and the more background information a reader can have, the better.

Determining whether *yakudoku* is actually indigenous or "unique" to Japan seems irrelevant. I doubt if any language learning activities or methodologies are entirely unrelated to each other or are particularly "unique," especially in formal educational settings. Hino stated quite clearly that the sorts of activities falling under the *yakudoku* rubric are not at all unique to Japan (1988, p. 53), and bear a close resemblance to grammar/translation methods used in many countries and to translation exercises used for FL instruction in Korea. Further, I made no claim in my article that *yakudoku* is unique to Japan. My use of the term *yakudoku* was functional, arising from the fact that the teachers I interviewed called what they did *yakudoku*. I merely observed what the teachers did and reported what they stated that they believed.

After I gathered the data, categorized it, had it examined by an independent rater, and then subjected it to interrater reliability analysis, I then turned to the literature, and found that my data most closely resembled the *yakudoku* methodology suggested by Hino (1988). Thus, the data was gathered first, then the literature was searched for interpretation, not the other way around. Of course, there is always the danger of selective data gathering and analysis in research, as suggested by Mr. Jannuzi in an earlier version of his response, but I would like to think that in the case of my article on *yakudoku*, that this did not happen.

Regarding Mr. Jannuzi's use of the term "Reading Method" for the activities he describes, after reading the definition of the Reading Method quoted in his article (1994, pp. 121-122), I checked the original source and was disappointed to find that there was not anything more there than what Mr. Jannuzi had quoted. The Reading Method definition was thus not comprehensive enough to account for what I was seeing in the classes I observed. Therefore, I could not successfully relate my data to the very skimpy model offered by the definition of "Reading Method" quoted in Mr. Jannuzi's paper.

Once again, I would like to thank Mr. Jannuzi for writing. I hope that my article on *yakudoku* and his useful comments will generate more research on actual instruction used in EFL classes.

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Perspectives

Procedural and Conceptual Parallels Between Student and Teacher Product-Driven Writing Projects

Christine Pearson Casanave
Keio University, Shonan Fujisawa Campus

In this paper the author describes a product-oriented approach to writing, one that applies equally to students and to teachers who write. In a project activity where the product is to be showcased in a collection of writings, the end product is visualized first, and the writing process is then conceptualized as the strategies and activities needed to reach that end. Other key similarities between student and teacher product-driven writing are that (a) writing is best viewed from a whole-language perspective; (b) error correction is necessary and purposeful; (c) public writing is inevitably assessed; and (d) writing activities and final products are multivocalic. While product-driven writing projects do not suit all teachers and students, they can be adapted and designed to suit many different contexts and purposes.

本論では、「結果としての作品」中心のライティング法（product-oriented approach）について考察する。このライティング法は、書き手が教師の場合もあり、また学習者の場合もある。作文を文集にまとめるプロジェクト学習では、最終的に書き上がった状態を目標とし、推敲のプロセスを計画的に行うことはその目標到達に至るストラテジーと考えることができる。また、このライティング法では、書き手が教師の場合と、書き手が学習者の場合とに共通する重要な項目として、以下のことが挙げられる。a）ライティングを言語運用能力全体の視点から捉えることができる、b)誤りの訂正は必要かつ意味がある、c)読み手を想定して書かれているため、書かれたものは評価の対象になる、d）作品集は多様な意見や価値観を反映したものになる。文集作成のような作品中心型のプロジェクトは、どのような学習場面においても実施できるとは言えないが、多くの異なる学習場面や学習目的に適合させ、取り入れることが可能である。

The point of this paper is not to prescribe how to carry out specific writing projects, or to describe writing projects that teachers and students can select from. Neither is it to recommend an array of purposes for which teachers and students should write. I leave all of these decisions, in their contextually complex specifics, to teachers and students themselves. In this paper, rather, I wish to lay out some

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procedural and conceptual ideas about one way of thinking about the writing that teachers and students do when they visualize and commit to what comes at the end. This "end," this product, must be visualized by each writer and each writing teacher, and it must serve some meaningful purpose for writers, whether innovative or conventional, beyond mechanical exercises. I urge readers, therefore, not to seek answers in this paper, but to identify issues and ponder questions that may be applied to their own settings.

Two basic ideas form the foundation of my message. The first is that much meaningful writing in school settings and in teachers' professional lives begins with a conceptualization (clear or fuzzy) in the writer's mind of an end product. The drive to finish a meaningful piece of writing then provides the impetus for writers to develop and practice a variety of goal-driven writing processes. This idea in itself is not so startling. In the case of student writing, it gets more complex when we transport it to the many different writing classrooms we work in, classrooms that include students of all ages, proficiency levels in English, and motivations. Some of the language educators I work with protest that their students cannot write a correct sentence, let alone a meaningful product. Such a view represents a linear approach to the acquisition of writing skills which posits that students acquire one piece of the language puzzle at a time, in some kind of rational sequence of simple to complex. The position I take here is decidedly nonlinear, because it accommodates any level of language proficiency, much as does a whole language approach to literacy acquisition (Freeman & Freeman, 1989). A whole and meaningful product can be defined for any group of learners, just as it can for any teacher who writes, and can then be used to guide the entire array of writing activities needed to get there.

A second idea underlies this paper, one that we do not see discussed much in the literature on writing. That idea concerns the fundamental similarity between the product-oriented writing that students do in their language classes and the writing that many teachers and researchers do as part of their professional lives. We tend to separate our notions of writing into that which students do and that which teachers do, perhaps because we believe that what students need to learn differs greatly from what teachers need to learn and practice in their own writing. This is particularly the case if we conflate the teaching of linguistic aspects of language with the teaching of writing. We also tend to separate student and teacher writing because we view only students' writing as formally assessed and graded. But these differences blur if we conceptualize writing from a different perspective: We can view both students and teachers as learners who develop expertise in writing by being immersed in purposeful writing contexts. Both need to become aware of the strategic options available to them and have their writing assessed critically (whether the final "grade" is a letter or number, or an acceptance or rejection for publication). Viewing writing this way, we can postulate a surprising number of similarities in the skills and processes needed to reach our goals. I believe that teachers who write, and who perceive the similarities between their efforts and writing and those of their students, will improve the effectiveness of their writing instruction. I believe that they will also become better writers themselves as a result of their increased awareness of how the strategies and processes and conceptual aspects of writing apply to themselves.

In this paper, I discuss the two foundational ideas mentioned above, both of which can help teachers think about their own writing and that of their students in ways that blur the student-teacher hierarchy. In the first half of the paper, I note several kinds of products that teachers and students might put together as collections, then describe briefly some basic steps that must be orchestrated, guided by the visualization of where writers want to end up. In the second half of the paper, I consider some conceptual similarities between student and teacher writing, when both student and teacher are viewed as learners involved in product-driven writing projects. I look at some of the assumptions underlying what I refer to as a product-driven approach to writing projects, and suggest some ways of thinking about this approach that work similarly for both students and teachers who write. I conclude the paper with some caveats and some words of encouragement.

The Product as Guide to Process

The Products

In keeping with the message of this paper, I'd like now to begin at the end, with a conceptualization of just a few of many possible writing products. It is with a conceptualization of where writers wish to end up that all the procedural steps and strategies that come before can be laid out. In conceptualizing the end, writers and writing teachers need not concern themselves so much with devising projects that are innovative as they do with devising projects that are meaningful and purposeful for the writers. While there are many kinds of products (including electronic ones such as those described by Susser, 1993), the ones I describe briefly here are edited collections of student and teacher writings. They come from my own experiences as an editor of several college publications and student collections compiled by teachers on my own campus and at other schools where writing is one of the focuses of more general English classes. Teachers need to imagine what their own and their students' writing might look like, of course, and to delineate their own purposes for writing.

Two kinds of student writing products will no doubt be familiar to many readers. The first consists of a collection of student writings (essays, journals, research reports, stories, film reviews, poems, cookbooks, or guidebooks) that students have worked on over time during the school term and are edited and compiled by a student editorial committee or a teacher. The second kind of student product consists of a quickly but intensely produced collection of some kind, unrevised or partially revised, such as children's reports and drawings of their interviews with a foreign visitor to their class (Kazue Hirosawa, October, 1997, personal communication). Both kinds of writing collections can include cover and interior hand-drawn or computer graphics, photographs, author autobiographical statements, or other additions that personalize the collection. These can be as innovative or as conventional as students and teachers wish. The student collections are distributed to all class members and teachers, sometimes to other groups of students, and to visitors to the campus (including interviewees who may be part of the project), fulfilling the goal of writing for an audience of real readers (Kuriloff, 1996).

The primary example of teacher writing products that I am most familiar with is an edited collection of articles written by colleagues on the teachers' own campus, possibly with contributions from colleagues on other campuses, and published by the university or—in the absence of funds or support—in copied form by the teachers themselves. These publications may be labeled in various ways, such as journals, monographs, or working papers. The advantage of a writing project geared to the university-supported publication is that it tends to be compiled much more quickly and with less outside critical evaluation than is the case with articles submitted to refereed journals. In Japan, this outlet for teachers' writing exists quite widely, in that university publications (*kiyou*) of various kinds are the norm more than the exception. In my experiences helping to produce such volumes designed to give teachers a collegial experience with conventional writing for professional development, we have typically sent out a call for papers on our own campus and distributed the call among colleagues we know on other campuses. Interested teachers send in abstracts (note that this first step is itself a description of the final product), and we (the teacher-editors) select those which seem appropriate for our theme-based volume. Then we meet several times during the writing process in peer-reading groups to discuss and comment on one another's drafts. Editors are responsible for preparing a camera-ready copy. The university may or may not distribute copies to university libraries in Japan, but authors receive copies to distribute to colleagues and classes, and those of us in teacher education distribute copies to our graduate students. In today's Internet world, such collections of both student and teacher writing can also be compiled and distributed electronically.

These collections represent one place where student and teacher writers can end up. The main project work, then, is the managing and carrying out of the activities that will get writers there by a certain deadline imposed by the constraints of a school term and institutional regulations.

Identifying and Orchestrating the Steps

Let me now turn to a brief discussion of some of the procedural realities involved in preparing a collection of student or teacher writings. While the details and time allotments will differ in each case, each group of teacher and student writers needs to identify and orchestrate the stages of a writing project so that the final product is completed by whatever deadline has been decided or imposed. This structuring of the tasks and processes necessitates that writers begin at the end, with the deadline date, and work backwards. The teacher, or the person who is acting as editor, plays a key role here as the manager of time-constrained activities.

To sum up the steps in the kind of product-oriented writing project that I have referred to in this paper, I list them here, beginning at the end:

END
- Copying and distribution
- Final product due
- Camera-ready copy prepared
- Addition of final details such as cover, page numbers, contents
- Final draft to editorial committee
- Rounds of drafting, reading, commenting, and revising
- Rounds of topic-narrowing and resource-building
- Topic ideas and abstracts prepared and discussed with a writing group
- Project description and schedule distributed, participants commit to the project

START
- Project ideas formulated and negotiated

In my experience, the three stages of a writing project always require more time than I expect in the case of both students and teachers who write. First, at the very end of the process, a significant amount of time may be required to prepare a typo-free camera-ready copy, perhaps with page numbers and a table of contents, cover designs or illustrations, and writer biostatements. Some of this work can be anticipated, and therefore prepared ahead of time, but some must wait until the last minute.

Second, rounds of peer and editor or teacher review, followed by writer revision always take longer than planned. For example, in the best of cases, turn-around time on just one set of student or collegial papers requires a minimum of two weeks: a week for the teacher, peer, or editor to read and comment, and another week for writers to revise. In my roles as writing teacher and editor of collegial publications, I have never been able to arrange it so that everyone in a student or collegial group meets these tight turn-around times, nor am I usually able to meet them myself when I am writing. What often happens is that writers do fewer revisions than they would like to do, or the final publication comes out late—if there is any flexibility with deadlines. Occasionally some writers who lag far behind the deadlines choose not to include their pieces in the final publication, a decision that neither students nor collegial writers should be penalized for. Ideally, participation in the full writing project is voluntary.

Third, very early in the writing process, topic narrowing invariably requires much more time than I expect. This is the case whether I am working with students' writing, my own writing, or that of my colleagues. Sometimes student writers, teachers of writing, and teachers who write harbor the illusion that a writing topic will reveal itself whole and intact to the writer (they hope at some point early in the writing process), and that the writer's job is simply to flesh it out. I believe this can happen, but only rarely. More commonly, a topic develops slowly as writers immerse themselves in a project, as they become more knowledgeable as result of research and collaborative experiences—locating resources from the library or Internet, writing in journals, discussing ideas with peers and teachers, and developing in the process a voice and a stance. The writers' ideas shift, narrow, and accumulate detail as writers become further immersed in a project. The topic-focusing part of the writing process must therefore be nurtured and celebrated over time, since this aspect represents the heart of the writing process in a product-oriented project.

Making Links and Dovetailing

A writing project of the sort I describe in this paper cannot easily be carried out without writers' connecting the writing activities to other aspects of their student or professional lives. There simply is no time in most students' and teachers' lives to duplicate efforts that can be dovetailed with a writing project. In a writing project classroom, lessons in reading, library and Internet use, grammar, vocabulary building, rhetorical conventions, discussion, debate, and presentation can all be connected to a writing project. In the busy lives of teachers, a writing project can be linked to issues and questions that have arisen in their own classroom teaching and research. A writing project can also be shaped to fit a school's requirements for professional activities or dovetailed with conference presentations and local workshops (and yes, added to a curriculum vitae). The point is to recognize the many possible links to valuable professional and language learning and teaching activities and to make these links work for the furtherance of both a writing project goal and related goals in the busy lives of students and teachers.

Student and Teacher Writers as Learners: Conceptual Similarities

Having considered the procedural steps that unfold in similar ways for teachers and students who write in a product-oriented approach to writing projects, I turn now to common conceptual issues—ways of thinking about product-oriented writing activities—that apply to teachers and students who write.

Whole-Language Assumptions

Edelsky (1997) and others have pointed out that "whole-language" approaches to teaching and learning are multiple and diverse; discussions and disputes surrounding whole language are both political and pedagogical. Nevertheless, certain assumptions seem to be shared, fundamental ones being that language used in classrooms should not be fragmented into separate subskills, that language activities are inherently social and communicative, and that the ways we use and practice language should always be meaningful and purposeful.

Freeman and Freeman (1989) outline six principles of whole language, which apply equally to students and teachers—if we consider teachers as learners. They point out that "language classes should be learner centered" (p. 178). Language activities should draw on the interests and experiences of the writers. Moreover, language "is best learned when kept whole" (p. 179). Writers, whether student or teacher, need to begin the task of writing by working with whole texts, then dealing with the parts, rather than trying to build a whole from the study of the pieces. Third, they note that "language instruction should employ all four modes: listening, speaking, reading, and writing" (p. 180). This principle suggests that writers should draw on multiple sources of language data—reading, discussing, exchanging ideas, writing—as normal activities associated with the writing process. Fourth, Freeman and

Freeman remind us that the language we use in a writing activity "should be meaningful and functional" (p. 180). It is not only our students who need to be aware of and committed to a purpose in their writing; teachers too need to write purposefully. A fifth principle states that "language is learned through social interaction" (p. 181). Not only should students be talking to one another and to the teacher, but teachers themselves need to be talking with each other during the process of writing if our own learning is to advance. (See the discussion of multivocality below.) Finally, Freeman and Freeman note that "language is learned when teachers have faith in learners" (p. 182), echoing the widely held belief that people live up (or down) to their expecations. This principle applies not only to our students, but also to ourselves. Teachers need to believe that they can write and that their colleagues can too, given whatever guidance or mentoring they might need in a collegial writing group.

Procedural Flexibility

As early as 1984, Reid (1984), in identifying both the "radical outliner" and the "radical brainstormer" as potentially expert writers, suggested that what inexperienced writers need to learn is not a defined set of so-called expert writing processes (e.g., as described by early proponents of process approaches such as Flower & Hayes, 1980; Raimes, 1987; Zamel, 1982), but an array of strategies that fit their own individual and cultural styles. What seems clear now is that all experienced writers flexibly manipulate their writing processes to fit different kinds of products, purposes, and personal writing preferences. Part of the job of writing teachers, then, is to help students develop this flexibility (Reid, 1994), and the job of teachers who write is to become aware of and practice selected strategies and processes themselves. Different writing processes and strategies, in other words, will be called upon quite naturally as writers become aware of ways they can effectively achieve different kinds of goals.

Purposeful Attention to Details

Two common beliefs have emerged out of process approaches to writing: Expert writers do not get themselves bogged down in the mechanical aspects of editing and proofreading as they write, and teachers have a responsibility to help students learn to postpone error correction until late in the drafting process. As support for this latter view, many studies of error correction have demonstrated that teachers may be wasting time correcting grammar errors on students' compositions because grammatical aspects of students' writing seem to improve more from regular practice than they do as a result of having errors corrected (see the detailed critical review by Truscott, 1996).

But error correction has other purposes besides the elusive one of improving writers' linguistic accuracy. Other more functional goals exist, ones routinely employed by published writers and experienced student writers who are preparing a piece of writing for presentation to a public readership. Published writers not only focus their work of revising on large chunks of text where "re-vising" actually implies re-seeing. They also pay close attention to details of their writing correcting small errors assiduously, some as they write. Others edit and proofread only at final stages before sending a piece out for review and possible publication. Students, particularly graduate students, may also be required by their professors to turn in carefully proofread final papers. While this attention to the details of writing should not be confused with larger issues in composing, it is a normal aspect of the writing process of experienced writers.

In student writing projects such as those I refer to in this paper, students who correct errors in their writing before finishing a class publication are doing so for the personally meaningful purpose of producing a polished final product that will be shared with other readers. A polished piece of writing communicates effectively to readers not just because language refinements have helped clarify meaning but also because the readers' concentration is not marred by interruptions caused by surface infelicities. Moreover, a polished piece of writing stands as a representation of one's self, something to take pride in before a public audience. In the case of student writers, the pride that results may contribute to improved motivation, confidence, and interest in writing, all thought to be factors that help explain writing quality (Hirose & Sasaki, 1994, p. 219). The same arguments for the motivating influence of seeing one's own polished piece of writing in print can be made for teachers' writing.

Error correction, then, is not viewed as a perfunctory activity or a language acquisition exercise, but as a normal activity that all writers do at one stage or another to advance a piece of writing to a stage at which it will be presented to a public audience. Other kinds of writing, such as "freewriting" (Elbow, 1973) and journal writing (Casanave, 1994), are equally important in the overall picture of writing. The main purposes of these may be for writers to develop fluency, ideas, expressivness, and "natural" (i.e., uninstructed) language development through practice. In these cases, error correction is generally avoided altogether, whether writers are students or professionals.

Inevitable Assessment

A successful product-driven writing project for both students and teachers is driven by much more than the writer's hope for a good grade or for a new item on a curriculum vitae. It is driven by the writer's belief that he or she has something worthwhile to say to an audience of real readers and that writing to communicate to those readers will help clarify and extend the writer's own thinking and knowledge. Meaningful writing in the way I am conceptualizing it can often be undermined by our need to give students grades in traditional ways (Huot, 1996; Leki, 1990) or to fill out our own curriculum vitae. Still, it is inevitable that the public writing that students and teachers do will be assessed in one way or another. Students receive grades, if not for an individual piece of writing or collection of writings, at least for the class for which the writing was done. Students are clever and are not tricked by well-meaning teachers into believing that a piece of writing contributes nothing toward a grade.

Teachers do not receive grades as such for their public writing, but they are assessed nevertheless. The assessments might be quite formal, a report written by a tenure, promotion, or hiring committee or a written review of a piece of work submitted to a journal for possible publication. Though there are no letter grades, the results of such assessments on teachers' writing can have far-reaching consequences for a teacher's career. Teachers no doubt have more choices about whether and what they will write. Nevertheless, some teachers, like students in a required class, may find they need to write for publication in order to get or keep a job, whether they are interested in writing or not.

If assessment is inevitable, and if direct measures of writing are to be used in the process of evaluation (Hamp-Lyons, 1990, 1991), one potentially valuable solution is to develop a portfolio for each writer that represents a collection of work over time (Black, Daiker, Sommers, & Stygall, 1994; Yancey, 1992). Just as teachers who write have a collection of their best published and unpublished writing that they can draw on for career advancement, students too can compile their work into portfolios as a way to track their development as writers and to showcase their best work. Edited collections of student writing can then be considered "class portfolios" in that they indicate the end product of students' development as writers during a given period, such as one semester or one school year. Teachers' edited collections can be considered "collegial portfolios" in which the culmination of each teacher's current knowledge, thinking, and writing skills is represented by the finished pieces that appear in the collection.

Ideally, both students and teachers will write because they choose to, not because they are forced to. However, teachers who are committed to the notion of "meaningful writing" need to recognize that grades and curriculum vitae represent a very real and meaningful, though institutional, aspect of the academic lives of students and teachers and cannot be ignored. Managing the potential conflict between writing that is personally or institutionally meaningful requires ongoing vigilance and effort.

Writers as Learners in a Multivocalic Endeavor

By blurring the distinction between teacher as knower and student as learner, we can conceptualize all writers as learners. A well-designed writing project, one that can potentially motivate even reluctant student and teacher writers, will involve writers in topics they wish to learn more about, whatever their current level of expertise. The writers-as-learners are thus faced with the challenge of finding a voice that communicates ownership of a topic and a stance of authority even though they are in the process of learning. Achieving this balance between self as learner and self as authority, when one is not claiming full expertise, remains one of the most difficult aspects of writing for a public forum.

One way that student and teacher writers can conceptualize the development of a balanced voice is to recognize that the voice that is showcased in a piece of writing is really a collection of voices. It is blended from a writer's past and present social encounters with friends, family, teachers, and colleagues, and from interactions with other authors via reading materials. It can even be considered a blend of voices that has resulted from a writer's "conversations" with his or her many selves. According to Bakhtin (1986), this borrowing and blending of voices cannot but be otherwise. All writing is heteroglossic, in which context and multiple participants, real and envisioned, within and outside of texts, shape all textual and spoken utterances. As summarized by Hardcastle (1994, p. 42):

> "The social relationship between the participants shapes the utterance and is shaped by it. The reactions of the listener are integrated in advance, . . . [and] the verbal materials employed always bear the marks of previous social encounters. . . . Every utterance, then, is related to previous utterances."

Embracing the inevitable multivocality of the activity of composing as well as of a finished piece of writing can help all writers recognize that having "conversations" with textual resources and consulting with others, not working alone, is an acceptable and desirable way for writers-as-learners to develop their own voices and to contribute to their evolving expertise. In both classrooms and collegial writing groups, then, writers-as-learners draw actively on context and experience, read widely, and seek out discussions with others.

Some Final Thoughts

In this paper, I've described a way to think about one kind of writing to which both students and teachers might devote some portion of class time and professional life over a semester or a school year. I've highlighted some procedural and conceptual aspects of a product-driven writing project, where the visualization of a collection of writings, designed for presentation to the public, guides what comes before. I've posed the idea that the distinction between what students and teachers do as writers can profitably be blurred. This blurring can allow teachers to apply their own developing awareness of writing processes and concepts to their teaching and thus help students develop a similar awareness and an increased sense of control, involvement, and pride of accomplishment.

Still, a writing project that results in a publication of some kind may not be suited to everyone, nor is the time required to carry out most such projects available every semester or school year. Some teachers have classes that are much too large to allow for much editing and polishing of student writing, or they have classes where some students' motivation is low because the class requires all students to participate in activities they did not choose. Some teachers are caught up in the teaching of language, by choice or by circumstance, or they may not support whole-language approaches to teaching. Furthermore, some teachers themselves do not like writing or see the need to write, or they may lack a committed collegial writing support group, without which collegial writing projects can only reach fruition with difficulty. In such cases, teachers may choose not to do a writing project at all, or to devise a less labor-intensive project for themselves or their students. If teachers do subscribe to the basic ideas expressed in this paper, many adaptations of writing projects can be devised that suit their own contextual constraints and purposes.

If teachers decide to design a product-oriented writing project for themselves or their students, tenacity and a sense of vision are required to see it through to the end. This tenacity emerges from a deep commitment to the value of a writing project and from a certain amount of intellectual and physical energy, which not all of us have on a consistent basis. Lacking these, teachers can still commit to a product-oriented vision even for the daily or weekly writing activities they may do with students, and for the daily and weekly jottings and journal writings they may do for themselves. The point is to visualize an end, then figure out how to get there. This means projecting how the daily and weekly efforts—the accumulation of small pieces—can ultimately fit together for a larger purpose, one that includes the gratifying experience of sharing the results of these efforts with a public readership.

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Christine Pearson Casanave teaches at Keio University's Shonan Fujisawa Campus and at the Tokyo Branch of Teachers College Columbia University. Her interests include second language writing and professional development. She is editor, with Sandra R. Schecter, of Casanave. C. & Schecter, S. (1997). *On becoming a language educator: Personal essays on professional development.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Association.

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Intercultural Communication Concepts and Implications for Teachers

Anne M. Shibata
State University of New York, New Paltz

This article explains the concept of intercultural communication (IC), discusses the need to treat intercultural communication classes as a specialty in foreign language education, and examines some of the conceptual frameworks that are useful for teaching IC in Japan. The author focuses on the premise that intercultural training is ultimately transformative and that cognitive training alone is not enough to help students reach the goal of intercultural competence. In addition, this paper examines teacher competencies necessary for IC training in Japan and presents examples of experiential activities that can be implemented in the IC classroom.

本論では、まず異文化間コミュニケーション(以後IC)を定義・説明し、外国語教育カリキュラムの中にIC授業を取り入れる必要性について言及する。次に、日本においてICを教える際に有用と考えられる概念的な枠組みについて考察する。IC教育は、個人の感情や価値観等の多様な内容にかかわるので、単に異なる文化を学習者に認知的に理解させるだけでは、十分な異文化適応能力を養成することはできない。本論では、上記の内容に加え、日本におけるIC授業を担当する教師の教育能力、IC授業で実際に利用できる授業活動の例についても言及する。

More and more, we are hearing the term intercultural communication (IC) used in the language teaching field. Universities are beginning to offer IC classes, and textbooks that are ostensibly for IC training are being published. But just what does this term mean, and how does "intercultural communication" as a field of study differ from merely adding international and cultural components to our language classes?

The development of intercultural competence involves both language and intercultural skills. Language teachers often overlook the task of developing intercultural skills, whereas interculturalists often overlook the task of developing language competence. Since language helps shape our world view and is a construct that aids the development of

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culture, language and culture are inextricably intertwined and therefore should be understood holistically insofar as possible (Fantini, 1995). Therefore, it is necessary for language teachers to familiarize themselves with the conceptual frameworks that can be used to guide students to intercultural competence.

Language departments and language teachers must consider a variety of issues. For example, how can we, as educators, constantly improve our own intercultural competence? How can IC training best be incorporated into language programs? Aren't we doing a disservice to students who must live in and compete in a global environment if we do not adequately prepare them to communicate with those who are culturally different from them? Can this preparation be accomplished solely through language courses, without a firm grasp of communication theory and an understanding of how culture affects the communication process? Can or should language teachers who have had no formal training in the theoretical/experiential methods of IC be expected to teach it?

Intercultural Communication Defined

Many of those teaching IC courses both in the United States and overseas have had no formal training in IC as either undergraduate or graduate students (Beebe & Biggers, 1986). In Japan, numerous course designs and syllabi are grouped under the rubric, "Intercultural Communication." There are also many books being published with the words "intercultural communication" in the titles. Upon examination, however, they often compare two cultures in a culture-specific manner or attempt to give students an oversimplified taste of cultural differences. While these texts and courses have varying degrees of usefulness, they are not teaching IC per se.

The term intercultural communication refers to the process of communication that takes place between people of different cultural backgrounds, whether they are from different countries or different subcultures within the same country.

A common misconception is the difference between the meanings of the terms intercultural communication and comparative culture. Comparative culture courses, for example, comparing the similarities and differences between the United States and Japan, should be distinguished from those teaching IC. IC education is not comparing culture A to culture B, although some of this does take place. Instead, it focuses on how culture affects the communication processes between people from different cultural groups and should include comparisons of people from groups A, B, C, D, E, and so on.

As a field of education and research, IC encompasses the study of non-verbal as well as verbal behaviors, theoretical cultural constructs, and perceptual frames of reference. Although there is naturally a broad overlap, the distinction between interpersonal communication and IC is that IC treats *culture* as having a major influence on the communication process (Hoopes & Pusch, 1979). Just what takes place when people from different cultural backgrounds interact? How is communication accomplished under optimal circumstances? What are the variables that can contribute to miscommunication, and how can they be minimized? How does the difference in cultural mind-sets and habits affect these interactions? This is what the field of IC explores.

Researchers and educators in IC are now working to help people develop *intercultural competence*. This is the ability to communicate with people of other cultures by minimizing the potential for conflict and misunderstanding. One of the key components of this is gaining what is referred to as "cultural self-awareness." Culturally self-aware people learn to recognize the effects that culture has on their perceptions and values. Thus they can work to shift their frames of reference in new situations in order to accommodate different cultural perspectives.

Conceptual Frameworks of Culture and Intercultural Communication

Many important concepts that support the IC field come from the anthropological research of Edward Hall. Hall's work on what he referred to as "the hidden dimension" (Hall, 1966) laid the foundations for the modern field of IC. Specifically, Hall explored the various cultural uses of space, time, and how culture influences communication. In fact, Hall says that culture *is* communication (Hall, 1976). He means that everything about us communicates; we cannot *not* communicate. Since so many things about us are culturally determined, our culture thus becomes our mode of communication.

Conceptualizing Time

Although elucidating the many paradigms used in teaching cultural concepts is beyond the scope of this paper, an in-depth example of one such construct and the impact it can have on an intercultural encounter is illustrated below.

Hall's (1976) model for the cultural uses of time identifies two types of organization: monochronic (M-time) and polychronic (P-time). Although there is an overlap between M-time and P-time characteristics in cultures, and the model itself is not perfect, the M-time and P-time framework helps us to conceptualize various approaches to time.

Most cultures utilize predominantly one style or the other as conceptualizing and organizing frames for activities. In an M-time culture, such as the United States, we find time valued as a commodity. "Time is money," "Don't waste my time," and so on are linguistic metaphors that shape Americans' worldviews. Americans[1] see time as something to be spent, saved, conserved, or used constructively.

In polychronic, P-time based cultures members see time as intangible. Most Middle-Eastern, Latin, and Asian cultures utilize P-time as a cultural frame. Human relations, rather than adherence to a particular schedule, are most important. There is little perception of "wasting" time in these cultures, as time is seen as fluid and unending. People are in step with natural rhythms, rather than ruled by an artificially imposed time-consciousness.

Many polychronic cultures are also collectivist-oriented; that is, groups are important and human relationships are highly valued. Monochronic cultures tend to be more individualistic, and goals and schedules take precedence over relations between people.

Japan exhibits both polychronic and monochronic characteristics. Business or professional meetings often last far longer than would be tolerated in the time-conscious West. However, the time used is not considered wasted (although some members of Japanese culture will complain about this to a sympathetic Westerner), as this use is intended to promote harmony and good feelings among the group members.

Why is understanding this framework important? Here is an application of how this different time-orientation can affect perception and communication cross-culturally. Last year this author was employed as a cross-cultural consultant by an American firm that was holding contract negotiations with a large Japanese trading company. At a business meeting in Tokyo, all participants were requested at the behest of the Japanese side to sign the notes from the meeting in order to facilitate clear communication on what had been discussed/decided at the meeting. However, Mr. Tanaka, one of the members of the Japanese side and a minor player in the negotiations, had left the room earlier but requested to be called back to sign at the end of the meeting. This frustrated the Japanese manager who was running the meeting because he felt that it was not important to have Mr. Tanaka's signature. But in order to save the man's face, we waited for over 20 minutes for him to return and sign the meeting notes so that we could all receive our copies. The Americans had been completely unaware of these undercurrents of frustration, due to the lack of overt display on the Japanese side and the language barrier.

On the train on the way back to our hotel, the vice-president of the American company said, "I realized today who one of the most important people at X company is: Mr. Tanaka." When I asked him in surprise why he thought this was so, he said that since we had waited for 20 minutes for him to sign the notes, he must have been an important member of the other side. He was quite surprised when I explained what had actually taken place and that the waiting had been merely a matter of letting Mr. Tanaka save face. One of the keys to the misperception was the time factor. For a Westerner, time is a commodity, and it only gets "spent" on people who are important. Therefore, through his own cultural lens, the vice-president assumed that anyone who was worth a 20-minute wait must be rather important. Without someone to explain and correctly interpret the situation, this misunderstanding could easily have led to some problems at future meetings. This is but one example of the many ways our unexamined cultural assumptions can affect our interactions.

Culture as "Software of the Mind"

Other culture-general and communication-specific constructs come from Hofstede's (1980) four dimensions of cultural variability. He categorizes cultures as collectivist or individualist, large or small power distance, masculine or feminine, and high or low uncertainty avoidance. These constructs allow us to define cultural perceptions and other variables in a quantifiable and understandable, though necessarily oversimplified, manner. Hofstede calls culture the "software of the mind" and asserts that we cannot achieve intercultural competence without understanding this software and how it interacts with other software.

Japan is identified as having a collectivist (group-oriented) culture that tends to value the harmony of the group over the rights of the individual. Likewise, Hofstede classifies Japanese culture as "high uncertainty avoidance," which means that Japanese people in general feel more comfortable with specific cultural boundaries of behavior in which to operate. Following established precedent is more comfortable than being spontaneous. This is one explanation for why Japanese students are reticent about giving their opinions in class and tend to be afraid of being "wrong." The United States and some European countries, for example, which are seen as low uncertainty avoidance cultures, in general feel more comfortable with spontaneity and new ideas.

Goals of Intercultural Communication Education and Training

Ideally, IC course content should incorporate both intellectual learning and experiential learning. Experiential learning is usually facilitated through the use of simulations, case-studies, small group discussion, and field-based contact. Suggested course objectives might include increasing participants' understanding of how culture influences communication and their ability to explain cultural similarities and differences in communication; understanding of cultural issues that affect intercultural effectiveness and their knowledge of ethical issues involved in communicating with someone from a different culture or ethnic group; understanding of the role of communication in intercultural adaptation and improving their IC skills; and knowledge of how to transcend cultural and ethnic differences to build community (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey & Wiseman, 1991).

The culture-specific approach is useful for participants who are moving to the target culture and need specific training in its language and customs—for example, students who are going to study overseas or participate in a homestay program.

However, most successful IC training encompasses a *culture-general* approach. That is, rather than teaching only about specific cultural traits, a wide variety of cross-cultural frameworks are covered. Since we don't know what cultures our students will eventually encounter, our purpose is to teach our students *how to learn* about cultures. To do this, we need to teach cultural similarities and differences; how to recognize and transcend racism, prejudice, and discrimination; and cross-cultural variables in non-verbal behavior, values, and belief systems (Milhouse, 1996). By using specific examples from a variety of different cultures from around the world, students learn to identify broad cultural frameworks that they can apply in future situations.

One of the basic premises of this training, as stated earlier, is that in order to communicate and interact effectively with members of another culture, one must develop cultural self-awareness. This begins with the understanding that each of us is the product of a particular culture, and our thoughts and beliefs are influenced by a cultural filter. This filter screens all we see, feel, and communicate. While this would appear to be obvious, it is not. Culture is taken for granted. We "know" things about the world and we assume everyone else "knows" them too. Certain things "go without saying." We unconsciously expect others to share our beliefs about our personal uses of space and time, what is clean or dirty, what is acceptable or unacceptable. All of these things are culturally imprinted and affect our interactions with others.

Growing up within a particular culture programs us to think a certain way, but most of us are unaware of how deep within ourselves these influences reach. Optimally, achieving intercultural competence allows us to go beyond the limitations of our singular world-views. "If you want to know about water, don't ask a goldfish," is a popular saying in the intercultural field. In other words, it is difficult to see our own culture objectively, because there usually is no reason to do so. Most of us are completely blind to our cultural imprinting, and learning how profoundly this imprinting influences our experience of the world is the first step toward integrating it.

Cognitive, Affective, and Behavioral Components of Intercultural Communication Education

Cognitive aspects of the IC curriculum should include and expand upon some of the theories of culture mentioned previously. Of course, communicative patterns and theories can also be introduced. The difference in communication patterns, not language itself, is often the cause of misunderstandings in intercultural interactions.

For example, Japanese communication patterns tend to be circular, and therefore the message is more contextualized and subtle. Japanese communicators expect their listeners to be sophisticated enough to realize the existence of *tatemae* and *honne*, the superficial message and the real one, and distinguish between the two. In interactions between Japanese and people from English-speaking countries, Japanese will often refrain from saying "no" directly, even when speaking in English. Instead, he or she will usually employ a vague sentence like, "I'll think about it." People familiar with Japanese communication patterns understand that this is the Japanese way of politely but indirectly saying "No." Conversely, in Euro-American linear communication patterns, the focus is on "the point" (Althen, 1988). "What's the point?" "Get to the point." "He made a pointed remark." Americans are comparatively direct in their communication, and generally expect others to be as well. (Again, however, this varies by degree depending upon the individual speaker's gender and cultural background, and the circumstances.) For example, in a business situation with Japanese, Americans will likely assume a positive response to be forthcoming after the Japanese side "thinks about" their proposal, because a direct negative response was not given. When this is not the case, an American may interpret the behavior of the Japanese side in a negative way, because communicative expectations were not met.

A third communication pattern is evocative communication used in some African cultures. This style utilizes storytelling to illustrate the point to be made, rather than directly addressing a particular point. The purpose is to evoke a feeling of empathy in the listeners.When people of such varying communication styles gather together, it requires a mutual understanding of cultural patterns to ensure that communication is effectively facilitated. Miscommunications between peoples of different cultures are often caused by differences in communicative styles and expectations.

An awareness of non-verbal communicative style is also important for effective intercultural communicating. Gestures, touching, and smiling all convey messages that are culture-specific. Some cultures expect displays of emotion; others are uncomfortable with them. Some cultures encourage a wide range of volume and tone in speech, and others do not. When we are faced with a cultural style that is different from our own, we can become confused, disoriented, and even hostile. We must learn to adapt our communication patterns to those of others. To do so, we must first learn that there are different patterns, and second, what those different patterns are. This can be done cognitively in a classroom through lecture and study, but real understanding requires experiential techniques to bring this knowledge into the affective and behavioral realm.

Understanding the underlying conceptual frameworks of communication and culture from an intellectual standpoint is a good starting place for intercultural training, but it does not end there. What sets intercultural training apart from other fields of study is that, at its best, intercultural training is transformative (Paige & Martin, 1983). Instructors help students to alter their thoughts, feelings, and behavior by transcending their cultural boundaries. We are asking students to make psychological shifts away from the dualistic "us and them" ways of thinking to a more inclusive and accepting state. Through a better understanding of ourselves and others, we can cross the boundaries of language, culture and communication that divide us and experience a sense of true community, an awareness of ourselves as interconnected beings sharing the same planet.

Skills/Strategies for the IC Classroom in Japan

Although there are many minorities in Japan, (the large ethnic Korean population, ***burakumin***, Ainu, Okinawans, and various non-Japanese residents, as well as handicapped, homosexuals, mixed-race citizens, ***hibakusha***, and the aged) they are not always recognized as such. Japan is therefore often categorized in a very general way as a "monocultural" society, and many Japanese see themselves as such as well (Creighton, 1997). Thus, Japanese in general are at a disadvantage globally due to a lack of experience in dealing with different races and communication patterns. This makes IC training especially desirable and appropriate in Japan.

The issue of gaining self-awareness particularly needs to be addressed in the intercultural classroom. The Intercultural Self-Disclosure Scale (Seelye, 1996) is a useful tool that helps students identify what topics and in what depth they are willing to self-disclose. This can be administered to students and then used as a basis for discussion. Barnlund (1975) described the differences between Japanese and American communication patterns, and his scales comparing the self-disclosure and body contact of the two cultures are relevant even today. My students found them fascinating, and when we talked about body contact in particular, students had a lively discussion about whom, when, and in what circumstances they would allow someone to touch them.

Gudykunst (1994) adapted a scale of individualistic and collectivist tendencies. When I administered this to several IC classes, the students overall scored higher in individualistic tendencies, contrary to the commonly held perception that Japanese display more collectivist tendencies. This led to some interesting discussions about the changing values of young Japanese, how they differ from earlier generations, and whether or not their results would be the same in five years when the students are out in Japanese society and under more pressure to conform. Using self-rating scales allows students to become thoroughly involved in the process, and they really seem to enjoy learning more about themselves. This is absolutely necessary as a precursor for learning how to communicate effectively with others.

This involvement can be achieved in a variety of ways. Usually, it is facilitated by using case studies, small-group discussion, interviews, or movies. The goal is to nurture students' ability to empathize with other groups. There are many experiential activities that can help students to shift their perspectives. Role plays and simulations are becoming increasingly available. The simulation game Barnga (Thiagarajan & Steinwachs, 1990) is one activity that helps students to experience firsthand the frustration involved in cross-cultural interaction. This clever card game simulates the experience of going to another culture where the cultural rules are different from the ones the students expect. Students sit around tables in small groups and are given decks of cards and instructions on how to play the game. Unknown to each of them, however, they are given *different* sets of instructions. After the students read and understand the instructions, the teacher removes them and the game begins. It is played silently, and students are left to try to communicate non-verbally (simulating the lack of a common language) but confusion gradually mounts. The facilitator calls time and then the "winners" and "losers" rotate to different tables and the play recommences. As the play continues, frustration, exasperation, and sometimes anger mount. No one is clear about what is happening, but at the same time each student is quite sure that he or she understands the rules, and all of the others playing the game are confused! Finally, after about 20 minutes or so, students are gathered together to debrief. This gives them an opportunity to let out the frustration they felt about the others who were not playing by the "correct" rules, their expectations not being met, and their inability to communicate with the other members. Students who have yet not figured out what happened are finally told that they each had different sets of instructions. The facilitator then helps them discover how these same types of reactions occur in real cultural interactions. Because participants are sure they are playing the same "game" and are sure they understand the "rules," it is the other person who is wrong, impolite, or has no common sense. It is an excellent, powerful tool because it actually generates the same kinds of frustrations that occur in real situations, as opposed to simply talking about them. As a variation, I sometimes allow English majors to speak English only about halfway through Barnga to give them an opportunity to try to straighten out a cultural misunderstanding in English. This gives them a good sense of what it can be like to speak another language in a stressful situation, which we often encounter in another culture. It also gives each of them a great understanding of just how adequate or inadequate their language skills are!

An extremely important component of experiential exercises is the debriefing process. The debriefing is a discussion, facilitated by the trainer, to help students make sense of their experiences, validate their feelings, and integrate their new thinking patterns. Without this all-important aspect of the activity, students will be unable to fully comprehend the meaning and purpose of the activity, and much of the experience will have been wasted. To this end, I always debrief in the students' native language. Although I often use materials in English for IC classes for English majors, the lecturing and discussion is conducted primarily in Japanese, because it is important that the students understand the *concepts* being presented, and they are allowed to ask questions and give opinions without being hindered by a language barrier.

Interviewing is another useful technique. Although interviewing is difficult in Japan because few ethnic groups are represented, the subcultures mentioned previously could be utilized. Some intercultural educators in Japan have their students interview their elderly relatives to find out their perspectives on changes in Japanese society and how things used to be. This helps young people understand why the elderly have a different viewpoint.

As a final project, my students had to interview an elderly person or a member of another subculture and write about that person's life in the first person in English. I stressed that they must already know the person, as I didn't want them accosting strangers on the street and asking personal questions. We also talked about the need to respect others' privacy and anonymity, if necessary, particularly if they were interviewing a person who was an ethnic Korean or *burakumin*. The majority of the students chose elderly members of their families, and the students and older folks both benefited, as my students found out more about life during the war, and for most of them, it was the first time that they had discussed such things with their grandparents. Many of them said that their grandparents had welcomed the opportunity to talk about their experiences with their grandchildren. There was an amazing depth of personal revelations in my students' papers. It was particularly poignant that several of the grandmothers talked of how they envied today's young women, who are able to go to school, travel to foreign lands, and choose their own marriage partners. One grandmother talked of how she walked through bombed-out areas looking for food for her malnourished baby. A grandfather told of his experiences in a Soviet prison camp. Another grandfather told his granddaughter of his guilt and anguish over the "comfort women" problem, as he himself had thought that these women were working of their own free will during wartime. Many of the elders told their granddaughters that they could not believe that some young women today were prostituting themselves (*enjo kosai*) to have money for clothes and cellular phones. This activity was the most highly rated of all the class assignments by the students in their end-of-the-year questionnaire, and many thanked me for having given them the opportunity to talk with their grandparents in such an intimate way. It was far more successful than I had imagined it would be, and I highly recommend it as an activity to help students really see things from another person's perspective. In particular, the fact that the students wrote it in the first person seemed to facilitate this.

Researchers have shown that there are cross-cultural differences in how students respond to training. Since most of the research to date has been conducted with American groups in the United States, some techniques must be adapted for use in other cultures. For example, it has been shown that Japanese do not respond in the same manner to debriefing as Americans do. Whereas American students will usually be quite aggressive in verbalizing their thoughts and observations in large groups, Japanese rarely are. Instead, Japanese students tend to like small group discussion, and they also have been shown to favor a more extensive debriefing, slowly mulling over their observations with their fellow students in small groups outside of class (Kondo, 1993). Some Japanese feel threatened by simulations. Since simulations are unfamiliar, they also leave the participants open to psychological risks. Simulations are active rather than passive;

they challenge participants to utilize knowledge and information to make decisions, solve problems, and so on. Students from high-uncertainty avoidance cultures like Japan or Korea expect teachers to lead classes and are not used to aggressively participating in their own learning. Students from low-uncertainty avoidance cultures, like the United States or Russia expect to be aggressive and active in the classroom (Hofstede, 1986). Also, there are some warm-up techniques presented in experiential books that require participants to have physical contact as part of the exercise. These types of activities are inappropriate in the Japanese classroom, because of the relative lack of touch in general between members of Japanese culture. Rather than establish comfort among members of a group, this type of activity actually increases their discomfort. Different learner expectations influence the outcomes of various pedagogical strategies, and these expectations need to be considered prior to implementation.

Another technique that is extremely useful is to use examples of actual intercultural misunderstandings, sometimes referred to as "critical incidents." There are a number of resources for these; a particularly good one is *Multicultural Manners: New Rules of Etiquette for a Changing Society* (Dresser, 1996). After the students learn theoretical constructs, they can be put into small groups and given some examples of intercultural misunderstandings. They are then asked to describe and give an explanation of what happened, applying the theoretical concepts they have studied. In many cases, they cannot fathom the reasons for the problems, but the very process of thinking about the situations gives them practice in perspective shifting and developing flexibility and critical thinking skills. This is the whole point of the exercise.

Movies can be used successfully in the IC classroom as well. *Witness*, with Harrison Ford is useful to illustrate a particular subculture (the Amish of Pennsylvania). IC teachers have also used *The Joy Luck Club* (Chinese-American subculture) with much success. The students should be encouraged to apply the theoretical constructs they have studied to describe and discuss the cultural differences they see in these films and discuss what types of cultures are portrayed, the communication involved, and so on. *Mr. Baseball* and *Gung-Ho!* focus on differences between Japanese and Americans, and *Children of a Lesser God* portrays deaf culture in a realistic manner.

Directions for Educators

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the field of IC should be recognized as the separate specialty that it is. Language teaching should ideally include cultural components, so that we aren't graduating "fluent fools" (Bennett, 1993). Teachers who wish to teach IC as a content class need to develop their knowledge and skills in this area, and language departments or cultural studies departments at universities need to recognize that it is indeed a specialty that deserves its own niche within these departments. Educators who are considering graduate schools would be well advised to consider a master's degree in IC, as universities in Japan are now beginning to look for people with such credentials. Paige and Martin (1983) have identified certain competencies necessary for intercultural training: a high degree of self-awareness; recognition of one's skills limitations; sensitivity to the needs of learners; the ability to respond to problems that culture learners encounter; awareness of the ethical issues involved in intercultural training; an understanding of conceptual/theoretical frameworks in IC; program-design skills; and research/evaluation skills.

IC training is a necessity for students to achieve intercultural competence. Through an IC course, students should gain self-awareness (What are my values? How do I conceptualize and structure my "reality?") and culture-general knowledge (What kinds of cultures are there? What other ways are there of self-conceptualization?) and learn skills that will help them to communicate effectively with persons from other cultures.

For people who already have credentials in another field, there are professional programs available to increase knowledge and skills in IC. The Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication (SIIC) is an excellent resource. Weekly summer sessions are offered by top educators in the intercultural field in Portland, Oregon, under SIIC's auspices. Professional groups, such as SIETAR (the Society for International Education, Training and Research) Japan or SEITAR International also offer opportunities for professional networking and skill building. Contact information for the above can be found in the Appendix. Perhaps a new N-SIG is needed even within JALT. Recent JALT conferences have had few workshops about IC, but the ones offered have been full of people eager to learn more and share what they are doing with other people in the IC area.

In our ongoing efforts to improve the field of language education, it is our duty as educators to keep up with the latest trends and research. As the world becomes more integrated and interconnected, the need for successful communication across borders, whether they divide countries or cultures, increases. The Internet is making the world even smaller and more accessible, but the potential for cultural miscommunication actually increases as we communicate more and more with people outside our own borders. An awareness of how different our perceptions are is absolutely essential for us and for our students. We must remain in the forefront and continue to learn, grow, and help our students to identify and transcend their cultural limitations, even as we attempt to transcend our own.

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Anne M. Shibata lived and taught in Japan from 1982 to1998. She is now writing, teaching intercultural communication, and doing cross-cultural consulting/training in the U.S.

Note

1. While acknowledging the diversity of people living in the United States, "Americans" in this paper refers to the general cultural characteristics of white European-Americans.

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Appendix: Professional Organizations

Intercultural Communication Institute
(Host of the Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication)
8835 S.W. Canyon Ln., Suite 238
Portland, OR 97225 USA
Tel: 1-503-297-4622
Fax: 1-503-297-4695 e-mail: ici@intercultural.org

SIETAR Japan
c/o Kokusai Business Communication Kyokai
Sanno Grand Bldg.
2-14-2 Nagata-cho
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100
Tel: 03-3580-0286
Fax: 03-3581-5608

Reviews

Second Language Learning: Theoretical foundations. Michael Sharwood Smith. Essex, UK: Longman, 1994. 265 pp.

Reviewed by
Thomas Asada-Grant
Tokyo Denki University

Sharwood Smith suggests developing your own understanding of second language acquisition (SLA) theory based on its history. However, the author is not interested in all SLA theory. The primary focus of this book is on grammar theory, especially Chomskyan linguistics and Universal Grammar. Thus all other areas, "for practical purposes . . . are not accorded attention due to them in this book" (p. 137). Once you accept this stricture, regardless of your own views as to whether or not factors outside of grammar play a role in assisting or hindering SLA in general or grammatical development in particular, you can appreciate this book as an introductory text to the history and foundations of second language linguistic theory.

Sharwood Smith's analysis of SLA theory covers the late 1960s through 1992. Chapter 1 defines the text's important concepts. Much later the reader discovers that the book is organized around four dominant themes, (1) knowledge; (2) control; (3) learnability; and (4) modularity (p. 172). It would have made the book more understandable if these concepts were given their own sections in Chapter 1. Another seven chapters historically analyze SLA theory, emphasizing grammar. Finally, in Chapter 9, implications for future research and practical conclusions are developed.

The historical overview begins in 1967 with Corder, Selinker, and Nemser's studies of the learner's internal linguistic system, "Interlanguage" (IL), as it exists apart from fluency. Much of the book's later sections treat the learner's system as a relatively durable internal state rather than a temporary and changing condition judged from the viewpoint of fluency.

Chapters 2, 3, and 5 trace and compare various IL hypotheses prevalent during the 1970s. Chapter 4 offers guidance for new SLA researchers, using grammar-related examples. Chapters 5 and 6 primarily emphasize the emergence of four issues which, for the author, represent the most important concerns of SLA research: (1) variability of acquisition and performance; (2) conscious and unconscious learning; (3) functions of various grammatical forms; and (4) the characteristics of the

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learner's IL knowledge. It would have been helpful if the relationship of these four issues to the four general themes of control, modularity, learnability, and knowledge had been clarified. Chapter 6 also begins to correct what Sharwood Smith calls the misunderstanding of Chomsky, a task he undertakes in the remainder of the text.

Chapter 7 introduces the basic ideas of Chomskyan grammar. Children, it is argued, must be predisposed to look for various features in the input data—the language they are exposed to. These predispositions lie behind what Chomsky has called Universal Grammar (UG). Grammatical parameters, then, allow for one or more variant. To make things easier, it is claimed that, in certain cases at least, particular options are assumed by the child (p. 134). Most of the chapter is a discussion of "markedness" as a way of explaining the advantages of adapting L1 linguistic theoretical definitions for describing second language development. The remaining three pages before the summary are devoted to lexis, phonology, pragmatics, and discourse analysis.

Chapter 8, the longest chapter, is titled, "The Role of UG in Second Language Learning." The fundamental question which UG must address is "where do successful second language acquirers, who clearly create novel utterances, get the necessary information for them to bridge the information gap and acquire those principles [of L2]" (p. 145)? It appears that UG represents the most important role of the subconscious.

Turning to cognitive psychology, the author explains its relationship to SLA research in the following words: "Learning theorists need linguistic theory to be able to define the linguistic aspects of the learning problem" (p. 5). Linguistic theory, it appears, means primarily Chomskyan linguistics. However, in devoting so much of the text to the Chomskyan model, other cognitive models have been unnecessarily sacrificed. For after all, "in a broader sense, it [interlanguage studies] is part of cognitive science" (p. 5). Thus Sharwood Smith uses only McLaughlin's information processing model (p. 113), which he criticizes for denying language learning as a separate form of knowledge distinct from other forms. Summarizing such models, Sharwood Smith notes, "It would seem, then, that the information-processing model would be more helpful in understanding the development of control rather than the development of grammar-as-competence" (p. 115). However, the excellent review by Schmidt (1990) of a range of learning models offers one that would satisfy many of Sharwood Smith's concerns. This is Baars' model, which is readily adaptable to Sharwood Smith's "modularity hypothesis" suggesting that the mind is composed of a number of semi-autonomous systems and subsystems.

Sharwood Smith introduces the final chapter, "Implications and Applications," with reference to the often "contentious relationship" between classroom teachers and theorists that introduced Chapter 1: "Ideally, second language researchers should, first and foremost, pursue their investigations without paying attention to the concerns of teachers" (p. 5). Most of the chapter is devoted to developing and examining whether the acquisition of performance skill takes place in a manner which is open to external manipulation. Here external manipulation is considered to be the intervention of grammar-correcting structures and evaluation considerations.

This would have been an appropriate time to consider other alternatives such as task-based learning. Task-based programs are more than grammar to the extent that the syntax facilitates the performance of the task. However, since Sharwood Smith has defined the boundaries for this discussion and the conditions for applying cognitive models of learning, this alternative is excluded.

Task-based curriculum describes objectives such as practice in communicative structures to ensure accurate exchange of information. But this is not "nice-to know" information. Grammar structure is included in the learning goals of the task only if it is necessary for task achievement. Apparently Sharwood Smith avoids this discussion because it is classified as curriculum design, not acquisition theory. If this is the case, however, then it is a mistake to separate curriculum design from its generative theory.

As the final chapter consists of broadly generalized hypotheses, almost anything can be included for discussion, even the areas such as sociolinguistics which were described as lying outside the focus of the book. Yet the implications of two hypotheses cycle us back to the beginning of his text. From the reader's and teacher's point of view, while realizing the new territory that is being explored in SLA linguistics, we expect some definite achievements and landmarks after finishing the text. The author summarizes the journey this way:

> What, then, does learner language research have to say to language teachers? . . . It would simply be dishonest to make a neat set of confident claims about what it can "offer" the practitioner apart from confirming the fact that SLA is complex and not fully controllable by either teacher or (conscious) learner (p. 172).

This kind of statement is appropriate at the beginning of the text but surely we have learned more than this by the end of the text.

A nice addition to the glossary and index, making this work suitable for a college text, is a set of discussion questions at the end of each chapter.

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Theory and Practice of Writing. **William Grabe & Robert C. Kaplan. London: Longman, 1996. 487 pp.**

Reviewed by
Mary Baken
Chuo University

In the introduction to *Theory and Practice of Writing*, Grabe and Kaplan express their hope that "this volume will be regarded as an ideas supermarket in which readers are welcome to shop" (p. xi). More in line with the mega-supermarkets found in most American cities, this text serves as a broad overview of the anthropological, historical, sociological, linguistic, and pedagogical approaches to the "technology" known as writing.

Beginning with the most basic question of "why do people write?" Grabe and Kaplan provide an anthropological/historical/linguistic examination of the human propensity for written record keeping. Going back 6,000 years to the first documented history of the written word, Grabe and Kaplan explore the possibility that the tendency to write, unlike the tendency to speak, may not be biologically determined. While most normally developed individuals learn to speak, only half of the world's current population has acquired the ability to read and write at a functional level, and one fifth is considered non-literate. Grabe and Kaplan assert that the ability to write is not naturally acquired and is, in fact, a "technology, a set of skills which must be practiced and learned through experience" (p. 6). This, they argue, is a crucial consideration when studying the development of writing abilities: "The way people learn to write is essentially different from the way they learn to speak, and there is no guarantee that any person will read or write without some assistance" (p. 6).

This notion is further complicated by the fact that the act of writing itself must be divided into two distinct categories: telling or retelling, and transforming. While telling or retelling involves the simpler skills of recalling and reiterating, transforming involves the far more complex skills of "writing for which no blueprint is readily available" (p. 4). In the United States when the first freshmen Compositions courses were introduced at Harvard in 1874, the standard academic expectation for writing in English became defined as a three-part essay consisting of an introduction, body, and conclusion. Yet, while most institutions assume that the skills for transforming have been thoroughly conveyed by the time a student reaches the tertiary level, Grabe and Kaplan have found that this is more often not the case, with the majority never progressing beyond the more rudimentary skills of telling or retelling. This is particularly relevant for L2 learners who have not had the same opportunities for practicing academic writing. Grabe and Kaplan also argue that teachers of writing need to recognize that learners may have a set of writing skills that have been highly valued in other contexts. As Grabe and Kaplan point out, "the central issue in literacy development is not the development of uniform cognitive skills, but the recognition that there are many different literary practices, of which only a few are likely to be valued by a given educational system" (p. 14). In other words, it is essential that the study of writing itself be seen as a study that is socially contextualized.

For a study of writing in the social context of Japan, for instance, Grabe and Kaplan discuss the work of J. Hinds, who compared the organizational methods of writing in English and writing in Japanese. While the standard in English writing is the three-part essay, the standard in Japanese writing is *Ki-Shoo-Ten-Ketsu*, a form which has its origin in classical Chinese poetry. According to Hinds, one major difference between the three-part essay and the *Ki-Shoo-Ten-Ketsu* framework occurs in the third element, *Ten*. Here the writer is required to develop a sub-theme which would be considered a major topic violation in the standard three-part English essay. A second difference occurs in the final element, *Ketsu*, which represents the conclusion; however, "by English standards, such a conclusion appears almost incoherent" (p. 188). Further, Hinds has found that while English writers are thoroughly familiar with a strictly deductive and inductive method of reasoning, Asian texts tend toward a method of reasoning he terms "*quasi-inductive*" (p. 189). Following this method of quasi-inductive reasoning, Japanese writers tend to bury their thesis statements. According to Hinds, Japanese readers do not expect the thesis to be explained at the outset and are better at contextualizing a topic than English readers. He notes that Japanese is a "reader-responsible" language; that is, "readers are expected to work to fill information and transitions, and a writer who does all the work for the reader is not as highly valued" (p. 190). In order to effectively teach L2 writers to write in a manner consistent with the expectations of the target language, these socially different approaches to writing need to be further researched and understood.

In addition to citing research by Hinds, Grabe and Kaplan provide a virtual cornucopia of leading research ideas by prominent theorists in the chapter titled "Writing Process Research and Recent Extensions," which gives an overview of current trends. Included in this chapter are extensive discussions of the Flower and Hayes model and the Bereiter and Scardamalia model, as well as a criticism of these approaches. The Bibliography consists of a full 45 pages, providing an excellent reference source.

While this theoretical approach to writing occupies the first half of *Theory and practice of writing*, the second half focuses on methods of teaching writing from the beginning to the advanced levels. These methods include curriculum planning, tapping student interest, responding to and giving feedback, as well as a variety of exercises for classroom use. These exercises clearly described and Grabe and Kaplan have made them further accessible by providing a quick reference guide. Among the exercise ideas for the beginning level are working with pictures, establishing a writing corner, and using a dialogue journal. Intermediate level exercises include autobiographies and biographies, surveys and questionnaires, and portfolios. Advanced level exercise ideas include exploratory writing, exercises distinguishing fact from opinion, and teacher-student conferencing.

These hands-on methods are valuable for practicing teachers of writing, but I found them somewhat simplistic when compared to the more technical and theoretical discussions in the first half of the book. While the first half seems directed toward a highly academic examination of the methods and effects of the writing curriculum, the second half is a more general approach to basic classroom management. Yet this is not necessarily a detrimental characteristic. Referring to Grabe and Kaplan's original wish that their book be regarded as an "ideas supermarket," both aspects of the book serve the purpose of providing an overview of the vast variety of elements inherent in the theory and practice of writing.

Grammatical and Lexical Variance in English. Randolph Quirk. London & New York: Longman, 1995. 220 pp.

Reviewed by
William Corr
Kansai University

This collection of journal contributions, reconsidered essays and rewritten lectures is concerned with the phenomenon of variance in English grammar and vocabulary across regional, social, stylistic, and temporal space. Quirk's text presents the results of recent and ongoing research on variance in the English-speaking world and will interest who are concerned with teaching, with language policies at the official level, with English language teaching standards here in Japan and with applied linguistics in the broadest sense.

Professor Lord Quirk, F.B.A., is not shy about airing his opinions and convictions; he rightly considers the sporadically-debated proposal that Japanese educators should settle for the "relaxed and clearly insulting goal" of mastering a simplified "Japanese English," or *Japlish*, to be both disgraceful and grotesque. But in truth Quirk's own visits to Japan have been both brief and busy, and his knowledge of everyday educational realities in contemporary Japan seems woefully superficial. With how many Japanese learners of English has Quirk actually spoken for more than a few minutes, one wonders.

The Japanese learner of English steers undaunted or apprehensively as best he or she can between the Scylla of archaic *Mombusho-Eigo* (Ministry of Education English) speech forms ("You ought not to speak ill of her or say such things to her") and the Charybdis of nonsensical semi-literacy ("Do Photo!" "Beautiful Human Life Plaza," "Life is a Sport," "Beer's New").

Worse, some native-speaking English teachers in Japan appear to have adapted policies Quirk evidently considers sinful to the point of treason; he refers to the *Four Seasons Composition Book* (Pereira & O'Reilly, 1988) which, inter alia, is said to inform learners that "If you can make yourself understood . . . that is good enough," the authors evidently embracing the view that such learners' spoken efforts constitute a "respectable variety of English," (p. 31). This opinion, although lamentably pessimistic, must necessarily command respect among those who have encountered Japanese teachers of English quite incapable of stringing the simplest spoken sentence together in that language. Amid this dire confusion, the astonishing thing is that any Japanese learner manages to make sense of English at all.

To quote Quirk on ideal standards in language teaching; "It is neither liberal nor liberating to permit learners to settle for lower standards than the best, and it is a travesty of liberalism to tolerate low standards which will lock the least fortunate into the least-rewarding careers" (p.29). The debate about Standard English in the Anglophone world is intermittent but impassioned; the Kingman Report of 1988 in Britain unleashed a storm of noisy and often ill-informed debate, much of it led by snobbish reactionaries writing in the Tory press or people with an all-too-evident political agenda in favor of the lowest common denominators of ethnic-group solidarity and/or proletarian and regional speech patterns. As Quirk quotes the report, it plausibly concluded that an adequate command of Standard English was "more likely to increase the freedom of the individual than diminish it" (Kingman, 1988, p. 3).

In the United States, the so-called liberation linguistics debate has centered on the issue of Black English, now semi-officially known as Ebonic or Ebonics. A contribution in *TESOL Quarterly* (Goldstein, 1987) suggested that young Hispanic-speakers in New York City should be taught the lively Black English of the streets around them ("I don't have none, dude.") rather than Standard English. Jeremiah-like, Quirk bewails the sad fact that such an opinion was read, and probably totally misinterpreted, by educators around the world. (This seems remarkably similar to the upper-class Victorian social taboo that certain things should simply *not* be discussed in front of the servants.)

Any educated and perceptive person who has traveled a little is aware that there exists, to coin an appellation, a Standard Mother-tongue Educated English which is virtually, but not quite, a cognate language in Canberra, Ottawa, Dublin, London, Chicago, Edinburgh, Singapore, Cape Town, and Wellington. The book Quirk published with Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985) adequately established that a single, educated, and universally acceptable variety of English can be described as a unity while still catering for the purely local and regional features which occur, to varying degrees, outside this vast common core. In *Grammatical and Lexical Variance* Quirk adds that common folk with their common sense insist on being taught correct standard usage, and he waspishly observes that the language elite invariably express their skepticism about standard English in precise standard English, not in Anglo-Caribbean or demotic prole-speak; "Disdain of élitism is a comfortable exercise for those who are themselves securely among the élite" (p. xx).

These are perilous times. Even the most highly-esteemed of educators are prone to hideous errors of judgment in Quirk's eyes; one H. Coleman, writing in *The Language Teacher*, mused aloud that "language behavior which at first sight appears to be flawed may in fact be a manifestation of a new, though as yet unrecognized, variety of English" (Coleman, 1987, p. 13). This is rather like saying a bright three-year-old's theological musings "may in fact be a manifestation of . . ." the first stirrings of the latest of the world's great religious insights. True, they *may* indeed, but the odds would seem poor to a professional gambler.

Quirk has harsh words for the celebrated B. B. Kachru, who has been publishing prolifically, elegantly, and eloquently on Indian English for a quarter-century, and yet there is *still* no published grammar, dictionary or even phonological description to which teachers or learners in India could turn for normative guidance and from which pedagogical materials could be derived. The late Indira Gandhi, Swiss-educated and from a wealthy patrician background, was appalled at what she perceived as the declining standards of English in India and was quite horrified at the idea of India establishing its own debased Babu standard (p. 39).

Two brief, and related, chapters of surpassing excellence are entitled "Linguistic Variance: Nature and Art" and "Orwell and Language Engineering." The English novelists George Orwell and Anthony Burgess invented imaginary simplified forms of English in two pessimistic novels set in an imagined future, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Nineteen Eighty-Five*. The nuances of the two languages are different; in Orwell's ghastly vision, Newspeak extinguishes free thought because independent thought cannot be adequately expressed with the available vocabulary. Orwell appears to have derived Newspeak in part from Ogden's *Basic English* (1932) and in part from Hogben's *Interglossa* (1943), an exercise in linguistic engineering which sought to out-Basic Basic English itself. The *SLORC* junta in Myanmar (Burma) appear to be loyal if totally humorless Orwellians; Burmese-language and, surprisingly, English-language posters decorate Yangon (Rangoon) with exhortations to work hard and obey the ruling despotism unquestioningly. Equally, in 1977 Tripoli, the capital of Libya, [illegible] bilingual Arabic-English posters evident everywhere with such cheery commands as the one to *"Purge the country of deviationists."*

In Anthony Burgess' threadbare syndicalist Tucland the Brave (the nation's name is derived, with malevolent glee, from the Trades Union Congress), the language, Workers' English, abbreviated as *WE*, is cheery and proletarian, and—a typical Burgessian quip—is taught on the telly by "the very humorous and erudite Mr Quirk." WE is, moreover, deliberately imprecise and delectably sprinkled with mild obscenities inserted as meaningless intensifiers; "Right, that's *that* bleeding wotsit sorted, then. Know what I fucking mean, mate?"

Quirk notes with scrupulous regard for accuracy that Workers' English, Burgess' invented language, corresponds precisely to two modern languages dictated to the *vulgo* by the clever ones on high, Putonghua in the People's Republic of China and Nynorsk in Norway. A comprehensive bibliography gives helpful clues for further reading. The unembarrassed Quirk, with or without collaborators, appears eleven times.

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***The Communicative Value of Intonation in English*. David Brazil. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. xiii + 188 pp. Audio cassette, 63 min. (approx.)**

Reviewed by
Ron Grove
Mejiro University

David Brazil (d. 1995) was one of the bright lights of the University of Birmingham's School of English. *The communicative value of intonation in English*, first published in 1985 in that university's English Language Research series, was his *magnum opus*. In their foreword, two of his colleagues call it "the most detailed statement of the theory of Discourse Intonation" (p. v). The book addresses the crucial importance of intonation choices made by speakers in concrete situations, choices which are not bound to other issues of grammar or semantics. Commercial publishers, claiming "it did not 'contribute to the debate'" on intonation in the 1980's, at first refused to print it. Cambridge University Press overcame such qualms and published Brazil's (1994) ELT textbook based on discourse intonation. Since the approach is not yet widely known enough to be conventional, those considering use of Brazil (1994) would do well to become familiar with *The Communicative Value of Intonation in English*.

Like other features of language, intonation is a series of paired options, many of which are available to speakers in a given context. The choice of one (and not the other) of a given pair communicates something of the speakers' intention or point of view. The purpose of the book is stated quite clearly:

> I start with the assumption that the first task of the student of intonation is to set up a framework within which the finite set of meaningful oppositions can be identified and characterized, and I seek to do no more than this in a single volume (pp. ix-x).

To help the reader focus efficiently on ("emic") minimal-pair contrasts and to avoid considering all the endless ("etic") possibilities in actual discourse, there many short examples given in the text and on the audio tape. They are repeated on the tape only when the repetition is assigned a new example number in the text. Asterisks indicate the first use of Brazil's own technical terms (p. xii); and Appendix C (p. 183) is an alphabetized list of those terms with the page of first occurrence in the text. A glossary would have been more helpful, since the terms are not always defined the first time they appear and there is no index to facilitate location of later uses.

Just as it would be impossible to discuss pronunciation without con-

Brazil to develop terminology appropriate for discussion of intonation, and this may be his most lasting contribution. The terminology is not transparent and takes some time to learn, but seems, at least to this native speaker, to describe the way English actually works. Fundamental concepts, such as the "tone unit," planned by the speaker and interpreted by hearers holistically "as a complex contour" (p. 3) similar to what others have called 'sense groups,' 'breath groups' and tone groups"' (p. 5), are quite helpful. Some concepts may be difficult to relate to their realizations, especially for non-native speakers. As an American, I sometimes found the British-accented intonation unpredictable and the terms, "referring tone/proclaiming tone" (p. 69) easier to grasp in the abstract than to apply to examples. Nevertheless, I had far fewer problems in these areas than with anything else I've read (or heard) on the subject.

One thing I found immediately appealing was the (imperfect) analogy between punctuation in written discourse and the choice of "key" (initial pitch) of a "pitch sequence" (pp. 120-124). I remember being told as a child that a comma meant a breath or a short pause and a period a longer pause when reading aloud. This is analogous to pauses separating tone units in spontaneous speech (p. 6). Brazil "could plausibly speculate that punctuation practices are based on an incomplete apprehension of how pitch sequences relate to each other in the spoken language" but refrains from pursuing this beyond noting that a high key is like the separation of meaning represented by a period, a low key to the equivalence represented by a colon, and a mid key to the additive quality of a semicolon (pp. 123-124). Instructors who focus on reading may find this book surprisingly useful, especially if their students are of a high enough level to interpret written English text in a meaningful way.

All teachers of English should take the following advice into account.

> The teaching of languages unavoidably depends upon the presentation of specimens: teachers provide, and students repeat, specimen words, specimen phrases, and specimen sentences. It is easy to recognize the intonation of oblique [noncommittal] orientation in much of the language that results . . . Pedagogical as well as other considerations make it essential to take note of how hearer-sensitive intonation choices differ from those motivated by a limited engagement with the language item. (p. 142)

This explanation of David Brazil's insights well rewards those who accept the challenge of understanding it. It is a must for anyone working in the field of English pronunciation and useful for all who teach ESL/EFL.

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How the Mind Works. **Steven Pinker. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997. 660 pp.**

Reviewed by
Lewis E. Haymes
Himeji Dokkyo University

In *How the mind works*, Pinker addresses the question, How are we able to perform as we do and what are the sources of our abilities? His major thesis is that our behavioral capabilities are the product of an innate endowment given us via evolution. The brain contains structures called "modules" which are physically specific. Each module has a particular operational program. The networking of these programs enables our behavioral capabilities.

How does this work in practice? The modules receive input from the external world. The mind (which Pinker defines as that which the brain does) makes assumptions about the input based on its innate programs and constructs a world view. We then perform actions or think thoughts accordingly. Cognitive scientists stress that all physical/mental activity is treated by the mind as information. Hence their term "computational mind" as a cover term for the brain's performance. Pinker admits that the computer analogy is a weak one, but suggests that it is handy.

Pinker emphasizes that this view is not deterministic. It is the very fact of innateness that gives us the seemingly infinite competence we enjoy. But there are some major fallouts. The traditional distinctions made by social science, philosophy and religion between contrasting features such as nature/nurture, and mind/body go down the drain. Culture, philosophy, and religion cannot be considered as fundamental behavioral determinants since they are also the products of the same innate programs.

What then, of notions such as "will," "self awareness," and the like? Pinker suggests that either we simply do not have sufficient information to deal with such constructs or we do not have the cognitive ability in the first place (and he personally opts for the second position). Our lack does not deter us from working out a theory of how the mind works, for "will" and "sentience" seem to have no causal referents.

The brain, Pinker points out, attained its present evolutionary state some two million years ago. Not much has happened since. It evolved to deal with the problems that our ancestors faced, not traffic jams, big government, and so on. This should not surprise anyone familiar with the principles of evolution. All bioforms have baggage that is of no direct benefit to the organism, and this is tolerated as long as the cost of toting it around does not outweigh the cost of its upkeep. Under "baggage" Pinker includes art, music, philosophy, religion, and culture. None of these, he suggests, have any direct bearing on behavior nor do they have any evolutionary benefit. They exist not because we find them necessary for survival but because they allow us transgressions of our limitation without penalty.

This book is important for anyone interested in human behavior since culture and language are but forms thereof. It is thoroughly documented, amusing, and cogently argued. It writes finis to the romantic notion that we arose from the primordial muck to nuclear enlightenment simply because we are the darlings of creation.

***On Becoming a Language Educator: Personal Essays on Professional Development*. Christine Pearson Casanave & Sandra R. Schecter (Eds.). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. xxi + 243 pp.**

Reviewed by
Guy Modica
Seikei University

If your book budget is so small or depleted that there is only a single academic book you can afford to read this year, *On Becoming a Language Educator* should be it. Casanave and Sandra Schecter have nurtured something unique, a "page-turner" of professional development. You will find yourself sneaking back to it during the day and staying up nights as I did, until you have shared every one of these "personal essays" at least once. Acquired only months ago, my copy is worn as a family bible. I continue to go back to the nineteen contributions as one would to parables—to renew and extend the insights they provide.

Among a surfeit of studied formalisms, this warm, engaging, provocative volume truly stands out. Casanave and Schecter have managed some astounding feats in editing the collection. They adapted the narrative form and the recent trend of biographical confession to the service of research in professional development; they coaxed a group of universally known professionals on the language landscape into confiding their personal lives in a way that illuminates their professional ones; they touched this reader (and others) with a magic dust that has nourished self-reflection and recognition of the larger and enduring issues in my own life as a teacher.

The authors are as familiar as the specialties diverse. Even more notable is the vehicle of their discourse—intimate family backgrounds, personal experiences as learners, and the historical and political contexts of their times. These educators speak unabashedly of their doubts, the successes and failures of their lives, their sense of themselves within the fields they have chosen, the games they play as professionals. They are candid about the dilemmas they have faced and the changes their efforts have wrought. Each essay is imbued with a strong sense of journeys taken and journeys yet ahead. Of course, this strikes up in the reader a similar stocktaking, and perhaps the realization that even as mature, experienced teachers we must still progress to further professional growth.

The first theme explores sources of identity, merging the writers' roots with the evolution of their teaching philosophies. Each author taps family history and values, generously, recounting seminal childhood experiences, particularly those in the classroom. Edelsky's effort begins the anthology by connecting her father's strong sense of social justice, her mother's distaste for pretense, her disturbed aunt's artistic exuberance and her Jewish family's marginality with her commitment to whole language. Foster probes her experience in Catholic and graduate education and her African-American background to examine writing instruction. She lauds the commitment of her nuns to every student's academic success and to providing explicit standards and objectives for the students. The oral traditions of her home community become a basis for good pedagogy.

Beginning with a charming recollection of the six tablemates she met on her first day of school as a Chinese-speaking girl in an English classroom, Lily Wong Fillmore takes us on a tale of migrant schooling for the diverse population of children in California's Pajaro Valley. Her challenges as a student and as an unprepared volunteer teacher of migrants lead to reflections on peer tutoring, educational neglect and bilingual methodologies. Peter Paul's revealing retelling of his family's struggle with a hearing-impaired child, his own challenges as a severely impaired learner facing the ideological and educational dilemmas that separate speech-reading and ASL schooling, not only introduce us to issues in deaf education but also furnish insights for reading instruction with hearing learners. Jim Cummins rounds out the theme, tapping his formative years in Ireland and his later academic career to probe a wide gamut: language maintenance in Ireland, policy conservatism of the Roman Catholic Church, and coercion and subjugation in language policy.

The second theme offers conflicts which have constructed professional identities. Norma Gonzàlez examines the tension between the categorization necessary for ethnographic research and the multiplicity of human experience, drawing on her Mexican ethnicity and work investigating language socialization in Tucson's Mexican community. The well-known juxtaposition of Ph.D. candidate and advisor, so rarely discussed, candidly occupies David Shea's essay, which unpacks the important topic of student-teacher power relations through the chronicle of his own dissertation project. Editor Sandra Schecter offers fresh commentary on the antagonisms between teacher and researcher roles. She champions the pleasures of teaching (and acknowledges the greater authority wielded by researchers) as she documents her transformation from teacher to researcher and the nostalgia she feels for the former.

The importance of teaching is reinforced by the third theme, wisdom gained in the classroom. Vivian Paley's essay is filled with dialog—real exchanges in the classroom and imagined conversations with colleagues. Her beautiful and touching article urges closer reflection on classroom talk and journal writing to sort out what we and our students do there. Also moving is Trudy Smoke's look at some student characters she has known in classes—what she learned from them and what they learned about themselves through their writing and immersion in education. Jill Sinclair Bell shares her journey from literacy researcher to student of Cantonese, becoming her own research subject. Her moods and realizations as she studies under her Chinese teacher's distinctive method are illuminating. Tom Scovel renders a short portrait of himself as a dreadful language learner, which he believes has made him a more curious and committed acquisition researcher.

The darkest portion of the book takes up seeing "the profession." John Fanselow uses a postcard metaphor (and an actual incident involving a Nigerian-based Peace Corps volunteer's postcard) to delve into the dilemmas of being a teacher trainer—providing models and practices as a mentor while seeking to free teachers of preconceptions and constraints—and to offer some solutions he has found. Alan Strand writes from the middle of his sabbatical year, taking us on a raw journey through disappointments and frustrations, the "professional tragedy" of his English-teaching career, ending with the blunt realization that he would rather teach economics.

Denise Murray faces a dilemma similar to Fanselow's. She expresses disquiet at the contradictions between her two facets: reformer and activist prescribing direction for the profession, and nurturing facilitator giving students the inductive freedom to find their own solutions and meanings. Finally, editor Christine Casanave punches a large hole in the pose demanded of academic writing. In examining the approach-able work she loves to read and the obtuse technotalk that alienates her, she shares her own method of writing, wrestles with the seduction of academe and concludes by calling on her own courage to reject incomprehensible "expert" writing in favor of writing for meanings which will connect with the audience she envisions.

The book closes with a look "backstage" at three essays, one of which never reached publication. Denise Murray's story of editorial negotiations and David Shea's e-mails with an editor uncover the emotions, misgivings and labor that these intimate confessions required. Judy Winn-Bell Olsen's e-mails show her hesitation, her search for a suitable personal topic, and finally, her conclusion that it is too embarrassing and too intimate to make authorial decisions about. She abandons the writing task.

These short stories will inevitably resonate with experiences and thoughts we ourselves have. Norma Gonzàlez' great-grandmother Yara is a character like my own Italian-speaking grandmother. I saw myself in Schecter's description of one teacher after a successful class: "She's so psyched that she feels a need to come down before driving home." I truly connected to Vivian Paley's observation on students, "They are our colleagues in this endeavor." Without meeting them, I feel these authors have become my friends. My sense of community with teachers of language has been enriched by discovering that so many of our backgrounds, principles and goals are diverse, yet similar too.

On Becoming a Language Educator makes a wonderful I-Ching. Through it each reader finds a different message, a personalized prescription for daily and professional life. I hesitate to limit future readers by critiquing the collection extensively. Still, the subtext of power relations whispered in my ear throughout. In many stories the characters strive to gain power against institutional domination and conservatism to secure a competent education. Students and teachers negotiate the terms of their endearment; teachers and researchers struggle to share academic authority. Professionals confront the monolith of academe.

The making of identity involves finding a legitimate place to stand on this globe of life. Every story is suffused with contemplation and observation about wresting the power to secure learning, a profession, a pedagogy of teaching, to make an identity and stand with it. I realize acutely the crucial way I view education as a source of personal strength and individual purpose. I love my work all the more for what I have read here.

On Becoming a Language Educator may well be the most valuable book you read this year; it will certainly be one of the most enjoyable volumes in your library of professional development—one you will be sorry to have overlooked. So don't. Unlike that annoying electronic chain-mail, you should send this book to everyone you know.

Realms of Meaning: An Introduction to Semantics. T. R. Hofmann. London: Longman, 1993. xv + 339 pp.

Reviewed by
Paul Nation
English Language Institute
University of Wellington, New Zealand

This book is not quite like other books on semantics. Firstly it works with a wide definition of what could be included in the field of semantics. Secondly it makes deliberate attempts to engage and involve the reader in the subject matter, and thirdly it seems to be written for learners who are not native speakers of English. This review looks at each of these points in turn. This is a book not about how to teach languages (although the author has comments to make on the learning of languages), but about how to describe the system that lies behind semantics and its relation to logic. It is therefore a text of interest to teachers of courses in semantics, and to people who wish to be better informed about the nature of the language. It does not assume any previous knowledge of semantics. The book examines how meaning is expressed both through lexis and through grammar.

The first chapter of the book focuses on basic issues such as the nature of language, the nature of communication, and the nature of meaning. Chapter 2 looks at the ideas of markedness and blocking, and provides important groundwork for the later chapters which focus on particular parts of the semantic system. Chapter 3 examines opposites and negatives including negative prefixes, negation in sentences and double negation. Chapter 4 on deixis examines one of the more patterned areas of language, focusing in words like *this* and *that*, and *here* and *there*. This chapter very clearly shows the fascinating system that lies behind this group of words. Hofmann suggests that the similarity in patterning between quite different languages "suggest the idea that human beings might all have the same [semantic elements] from which to build words . . . It is reasonable to suspect that we all have the same building blocks of articulate thought, for we are all human beings" (p. 71). This is indeed the theme of the book—there is a small group of semantic elements that underlie the important semantic systems of all languages. Hofmann sees learning these as a way to make a quick start on learning another language. Chapter 5, called Orientations, looks at subject-orientation and speaker-orientation, and their effect on requests. Chapter 6 examines modal verbs.

(usually indicated by an adverb), and the time of the event, it is possible to make sense of choices in the tense and aspect system of English. The description is fascinating and thought provoking. It is not however checked against examples that actually occur in normal use of the language to truly test the strength of the description. Somewhat naively, it is also assumed that if the system is right, "English students should not have any more trouble" (p. 119). This indeed is the major weakness of the book. In occasional asides the author makes ill-judged comments on areas that largely lie outside the scope of the book. A similar notable comment firmly within the scope of the book is "it is probably not worth reading anything on semantics more that fifteen years old" (p. 14). This would exclude all the items listed in the further reading at the end of the chapter!

Chapter 8 examines the limits to events, covering states and stativity, volition, punctive and durative—perfective, imperfective, iterative and generative. Chapter 9 looks at the semantic elements that lie behind prepositions, Chapter 10 examines reference and predication, Chapter 11, sentence structure. The later chapters of the book range over discourse and pragmatics. The final chapter, Afterwords, touches on topics raised in earlier chapters—pasigraphic systems, meaning, fuzziness and prototypes, field, use and reference, theories of meaning, and a "usage" theory of meaning.

Hofmann clearly wants the text to be accessible and interesting. It is deliberately written in simple language with an avoidance of jargon wherever possible. There are plenty of diagrams to illustrate and clarify points in the text. Each chapter begins by posing questions about the reasons for the acceptability and unacceptability of example sentences. These questions are accompanied by a diagram indicating the focus of the chapter. The writer says in the preface, "Most of the facts of English presented here derive directly or indirectly from teaching English to non-natives, from seeing mistakes commonly made and noting how to avoid them" (p. xiii). The model of the reader then is largely someone who is not a native speaker of English and the book carefully takes account of this. Within each chapter there are interpolated questions with answers provided at the end of the chapter. They seem to have the aim of allowing readers to check their understanding, breaking the chapter into manageable chunks, and keeping the practical purposes of the theory clear. Each chapter ends with list of keywords (the technical vocabulary that needs to be remembered), suggestions for further reading, and two to four pages of exercises for the reader to work on. Answers to the exercises are provided at the end of the book. The questions and exercises largely involve deciding what is different between sentences, why some sentences are unacceptable and how to correct them. Although there are examples from a variety of languages, the writer's familiarity with Japanese and French means that many examples are from these languages. It is not difficult to imagine a course based on this book exciting and engaging students. The writer's enthusiasm for the subject and his desire to communicate so that he is well understood is apparent in every page of the book. *Realms of Meaning* is a readable, interesting and wide ranging introduction to semantics for serious students. It brings them to grips with the important issues in this field in an engaging way.

Information for Contributors

All submissions must conform to *JALT Journal* Editorial Policy and Guidelines.

Editorial Policy

JALT Journal, the refereed research journal of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (*Zenkoku Gogaku Kyoiku Gakkai*), invites practical and theoretical articles and research reports on second/foreign language teaching and learning in Japanese, Asian, and other international contexts. Areas of particular interest are:

1. curriculum design and teaching methods
2. classroom-centered research
3. cross-cultural studies
4. testing and evaluation
5. teacher training
6. language learning and acquisition
7. overviews of research and practice in related fields

The editors encourage submissions in five categories: (1) full-length articles, (2) short research reports (*Research Forum*), (3) essays on language education or reports of pedagogical techniques which are framed in theory and supported by descriptive or empirical data (*Perspectives*), (4) book and media reviews (*Reviews*), and (5) comments on previously published *JALT Journal* articles (*Point to Point*). Occasionally *JALT Journal* will issue a Call for Papers for theme-based issues. Articles should be written for a general audience of language educators; therefore statistical techniques and specialized terms must be clearly explained.

Guidelines

Style

JALT Journal follows the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 4th edition (available from APA Order Department, P.O. Box 2710, Hyattsville, MD 20784, USA). Consult recent copies of *JALT Journal* or *TESOL Quarterly* for examples of documentation and references.

Format

Full-length articles must not be more than 20 pages in length (6,000 words), including references, notes, tables and figures. *Research Forum* submissions should not be more than 10 pages in length. *Perspectives* submissions should not be more than 15 pages in length. *Point to Point* comments on previously published articles should not be more than 675 words in length, and *Reviews* should generally not be longer than 500-750 words. All submissions must be typed and double-spaced on A4 or 8.5"x11" paper. The author's name and identifying references should appear only on the cover sheet. Authors are responsible for the accuracy of references and reference citations.

Materials to be submitted

1. Three (3) copies of the manuscript, with no reference to the author. Do not use running heads
2. Cover sheet with the title and the author name(s)
3. Contact information, including the author's full address and, where available, a fax number and electronic mail address
4. Abstract (no more than 150 words)
5. Japanese translation of the title and abstract, if possible (less than 400 *ji*)
6. Biographical sketch(es) (no more than 25 words each)
7. Authors of accepted manuscripts must supply camera-ready copies of any diagrams or figures and a disk copy of the manuscript (RTF or ASCII)

Evaluation procedures

All manuscripts are first reviewed by the editorial board to insure they comply with *JALT Journal* Guidelines. Those considered for publication are subject to blind review by at least two readers, with special attention given to: (1) compliance with *JALT Journal* Editorial

Policy, (2) the significance and originality of the submission, and (3) the use of appropriate research design and methodology. Evaluation is usually completed within three months.

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Papers submitted to *JALT Journal* must not have been previously published, nor should they be under consideration for publication elsewhere. *JALT Journal* has First World Publication Rights, as defined by International Copyright Conventions, for all manuscripts published. We regret that manuscripts or computer disks cannot be returned. In the interests of facilitating clarity, the editors reserve the right to made editorial changes to accepted manuscripts.

Full-Length Submissions, Research Forum, and Point to Point Submissions

Please send submissions in these categories or general inquiries to:

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2-1-1 Higashi Mita, Tama-ku, Kawasaki,
Kanagawa-ken 214-0033, Japan

Perspectives

Please send submissions in this category to:

Nicholas O. Jungheim, Associate Editor
Faculty of Law, Aoyama Gakuin University
4-4-25 Shibuya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150-0002, Japan

Reviews

The editors invite reviews of books, tests, teaching systems, and other publications in the field of language education. A list of publications which have been sent to JALT for review is published monthly in *The Language Teacher*. Please send submissions, queries, or requests for books, materials and review guidelines to:

Patrick Rosenkjar, Book Reviews Editor (Incoming)
Temple University Japan
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Minato-ku, Tokyo 106-0047, Japan

Japanese-Language Manuscripts

JALT Journal welcomes Japanese-language manuscripts on second/foreign language teaching and learning. Submissions must conform to the Editorial Policy and Guidelines given above. Authors must provide a detailed abstract in English, 500-750 words in length. Refer to the Japanese-language Guidelines for details. Please send Japanese-language manuscripts to:

Shinji Kimura, Japanese-Language Editor
Faculty of Law, Kwansei Gakuin University,
1-1-155, Uegahara, Nishinomiya, Hyogo 662-0886, Japan

Address for Inquiries about Subscriptions or Advertising

JALT Central Office
Urban Edge Building 5F
1-37-9 Taito, Taito-ku, Tokyo 110-0016, Japan
Tel.: 03-3837-1630; Fax: 03-3837-1631
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JALT Journal 日本語論文投稿要領

JALT Journalでは、日本語で執筆された第二言語・外国語教育についての論文を募集いたします。第二言語教育／学習研究の文脈を踏まえ、しっかりした研究計画に基づいている、実践への応用の可能性を示した理論的・実証的研究や理論的裏づけを持った実践報告などで、教育、教授法、応用言語学などの今日的問題を扱ったものを歓迎します。

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Perspectives on Secondary School EFL Education

A Publication in Commemoration
of the 30th Anniversary of
the Language Institute of Japan

Jim Kahny and Mark James, Editors
Language Institute of Japan

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Focus on the Classroom: Interpretations

教室に目を向ければ・・・

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For information:

JALT Central Office
Urban Edge Building 5F
1-37-9 Taito
Taito-ku, Tokyo 110-1106

問い合わせ先：

ＪＡＬＴ事務局
〒 １１０－１１０６
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